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# The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH  
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND  
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XX

MARCH, 1925

Number 6

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the coöperation of the  
Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XX

MARCH, 1925

NUMBER 6

## Editorial

PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE  
MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH TO BE HELD  
AT IOWA CITY, IOWA, APRIL 9-11

THURSDAY, 10:00 A. M. OLD CAPITOL

Meeting of the Executive Committee

THURSDAY, 2:30 P. M. SENATE CHAMBER, OLD CAPITOL

*Carmina Latina*, led by ROY C. FLICKINGER, Northwestern University.

H. J. BARTON, University of Illinois: "The Doctrine of Interest."

LYDIA WHITAKER, Wiley High School, Terre Haute: "Minerva or Mercury."

W. J. BATTLE, University of Texas: "How Shall We Pronounce Our Latin."

FRANCES E. SABIN, Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, Columbia University: "The Work of the Bureau."

Appointment of Committees.

Opportunity for presentation of motions to be considered at business session.

Informal meeting of State Vice-Presidents.

THURSDAY, 6:30 P. M.

The members of the Association will be the guests of the Iowa City Commercial Club at dinner.

AFTER DINNER, OLD CAPITOL

R. B. STEELE, Vanderbilt University, *presiding*.

Address of Welcome to the Members of the Association, PRESIDENT WALTER

A. JESSUP, University of Iowa.

Response for the Association, Professor Frank J. Miller, University of Chicago.

FRED L. HANSEL, Miami University: "Horace, a Cinema Artist."

ALEXANDER L. BONDURANT, University of Mississippi: "A Gallic Man of Letters" (President's Address).

FRIDAY, 9:00 A. M. 301 PHYSICS BUILDING

*Carmina Latina*, led by Professor Flickinger.

WALTER MILLER, University of Missouri: "The American School in Athens."  
(Illustrated)

D. M. KEY, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss.: "The Quiet Humor of Tibullus."

GORDON J. LAING, University of Chicago: "More Recent Discoveries in Pompeii." (Illustrated)

LOUIS LORD, Oberlin College: "Tacitus the Historian."

FRIDAY, 2:00 P. M. SENATE CHAMBER, OLD CAPITOL

ARTHUR L. KEITH, University of South Dakota, *presiding*.

E. B. DESAUZÉ, Director of Foreign Languages, Cleveland Public Schools: "A Pedagogical and Psychological Basis for a High School Latin Course."

CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan: "Greek for Latin Teachers."

R. D. HARRIMAN, University of Utah: "The Teaching of Beginning Latin."

CHARLES E. LITTLE, George Peabody College for Teachers: "The Marks of Spoken Latin in the Bellum Hispaniense."

FRIDAY, 4:30 P. M.

A tea will be tendered the members of the Association by the Classical Club of the University.

FRIDAY, 6:30 P. M.

The members of the Association will be guests of the University of Iowa at dinner. On this occasion B. L. Ullman will preside.

FRIDAY, 8:00 P. M. NATURAL SCIENCE AUDITORIUM

Address by DEAN ANDREW F. WEST of Princeton University, the guest of the Association.

MARY C. STEVENS, Newman Manual Training School, New Orleans: "The Findings of the Classical Investigation on the Second Year of Latin."

A Reading from "The Trojan Women" of Euripides by Mrs. Alice W. M. Wills, of the University of Iowa. This will be given in costume, and she will be assisted by a number of people.

SATURDAY, 9:00 A. M. PHYSICS BUILDING

Business Session.

LILLIAN WILSON, Chicago: "The Roman Toga." (Illustrated)

GLADYS H. HOLLOWAY, Oberlin College: "Death Bed Scenes in Ancient Biography."

CHARLES N. SMILEY, Grinnell College: "Certain Similarities in the Fundamental Thought of the Early Hebrews and the Homeric Greeks."

S. E. STOUT, Indiana University: "The Mind of the Scribe."

SATURDAY, 1:30 P. M.

The members of the Association will be the guests of the Citizens of Iowa City for an automobile drive through the city.

#### LOCAL COMMITTEE

B. L. Ullman, *Chairman*  
Harry D. Breene  
Maude Brownell  
D. W. Crum  
Helen M. Eddy  
Lillian B. Lawler  
J. S. Magnuson

E. A. Menk  
Hortense Meyer  
Carl Morrow  
F. H. Potter  
Rev William P. Shannahan  
C. H. Weller



*Hotels:*

Hotel Jefferson—Rooms, Single, no bath \$1.50 to \$2.00. Rooms, Single, with bath \$3.00 to \$3.50. Rooms, Double, no bath, \$2.50 to \$3.00. Rooms, Double, with bath, \$5.00.

Hotel Washington—Rooms, Single, no bath, \$1.50. Rooms, Single, with bath, \$2.00, \$2.25 and \$2.50.

Hotel Burkley—Rooms, Single, no bath, \$1.25 and \$1.50. Rooms, Double, no bath, \$2.50. Rooms, Single, with bath, \$2.00 and \$2.25. Rooms, Double, with bath, \$3.00 and \$3.50.

Rooms in Private Homes may be had at \$.75 and \$1.00 per day.

Those who wish to make arrangements in advance should address Mr. Carl Morrow, University of Iowa.

*Transportation:* Iowa City is reached by the Rock Island Railroad and by interurban car from Cedar Rapids, 30 miles away, which is on the Northwestern, The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and a branch line of the Illinois Central. The Rock Island time table gives connections at Chicago, Omaha, St. Louis, Memphis, etc. Persons coming via Chicago over certain lines may change at Englewood Union Station. Following are some of the best trains, though there may be slight changes of schedule:

Leave Chicago 6:00 P. M., arr. Iowa City 12:20 A. M. Chicago 12:50 A. M. (sleeper open at 10:15 P. M.) arr. Iowa City 8:15 A. M. Chicago 10:00 A. M., arr. Iowa City 3:41 P. M.

Leave Omaha 3:22 P. M., arr. Iowa City 11:55 P. M. Omaha 2:40 A. M., arr. Iowa City 10:12 A. M. (sleeper as far as Des Moines open at 10:00 P. M.) Omaha 6:40 A. M. (change at Des Moines), arr. Iowa City 2:45 P. M.

Leave St. Louis 7:30 P. M., arr. Iowa City 8:15 A. M. (change at West Liberty)

Leave Minneapolis 7:00 P. M., arr. Iowa City 8:15 A. M. (change at West Liberty at 5:05 A. M.)

Interurban cars from Cedar Rapids run about an hour apart.

The most convenient trains leave for the east at 2:45 P. M. and 11:55 P. M. (sleeper for Chicago open at 9:30 P. M.); for the west at 3:41 P. M. and 12:20 A. M.; for St. Louis and Minneapolis at 7:50 P. M.

Bus line (fare seven cents) from station to hotels and University (ten minutes walk).

*Registration:* Members are requested to register as early as possible at the Old Capitol.

*Mail* may be addressed care of B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa.

*Entertainments* Those intending to be present at the dinners should notify Professor J. S. Magnuson before April 7.

*Reduced Fare:* Application has been made to the railways for the one and one-half fare rate on the certificate plan. Members and friends should purchase one-way tickets, and at the same time secure from the agent a certificate, giving the name, place, and date of the convention.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND AT  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, APRIL 3-4, 1925

FRIDAY, 10:00 A. M.

Address of Welcome by President A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard University.

Response by Dean Paul Nixon, President of the Association.

NICHOLAS MOSELEY, Yale University: "Juno in Vergil's Aeneid."

LILLIAN N. SLEEPER, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass.: "Programs and Teachers."

BENJAMIN D. MERITT, Brown University, (Professor Allen B. West, Wheaton College, engaged in this investigation with Mr. Meritt): "A New Estimate of the Ability of Cleon."

Reports and business, including the election of officers.

FRIDAY, 2:00 P. M.

EDITH FRANCES CLAFLIN, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn.: "Latin Sentence Structure and Syntax illustrated from English Poetry: Part I."

FRANK C. BABBITT, Trinity College: "Plato and the Movies."

HELEN F. HILL, Rogers Hall, Lowell, Mass.: "The Silent Majority."

GEORGE D. CHASE, University of Maine: "The Ilias Latina."

GEORGE H. CHASE, Harvard University: "The Restoration of Aient Monuments." (Illustrated)

Friday evening program to be arranged by a Harvard committee.

SATURDAY, 9:30 A. M.

Mrs. SAMUEL V. COLE, Wheaton College: "The Lengthened Shadow of a Roman Elegist."

CHARLES D. ADAMS, Dartmouth College: "The Influence of Demosthenes and Cicero on English and American Oratory."

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH, Harvard University: "Some Aspects of Aeschylean Eschatology."

F. X. DOWNEY, Holy Cross College: "The Iliad in our High Schools."

SATURDAY, 2:00 P. M.

FRANCES SABIN, Columbia University: "The Service Bureau for Classical Teachers."

CLARENCE W. GLEASON, Roxbury Latin School: "Cyrus and Uncle Cyaxares."

W. V. McDUFFEE, Central High School, Springfield, Mass.: "The Classical Investigation."

Unfinished Business.

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FREDERICK WARREN SANFORD

On August 28, 1924, there passed away one whose contribution to the furthering of classical studies in the Middle West was very great. Circumstances, particularly an exceptionally heavy teaching

load and in his later years ill health, prevented him from achieving the distinction as a technical scholar to which his abilities warranted his aspiring. Only certain articles on Cicero's Letters, published and unpublished, remain to show what he might have accomplished in this direction. These evince an exceptionally keen historical and exegetical sense. His achievement was in the sphere of teaching. In that sphere, however, he stood preëminent. His skill and above all his capacity for sympathy enabled him in the class room to put an impress upon the minds and the lives of thousands, many of whom he inspired to follow him into the teaching profession. His especial interest was in the encouragement of the secondary teaching of Latin. The marked increase in enrollment in High School courses in Latin revealed by the recent Classical Investigation is due in no small degree to his work. A careful study of the conditions and methods prevailing in the ordinary western High School (how few of us university dons know anything of High School conditions!), coupled with a native pedagogic sense which he cultivated with sedulous care, enabled him to suggest improvements and simplifications in method which have enabled hundreds of teachers to catch and retain the interest of our sceptical American youth in a subject widely proclaimed "dead." The monument by which he will be best remembered by the public is the admirable series of elementary Latin books which he edited in conjunction with Professor Scott of Ohio. With his friends and colleagues he will ever remain a gracious memory. His loyalty, his strength of character, his unaffected kindness, his unfailing courtesy and even temper, even under circumstances which would have provoked most men to rebellion, above all his sanity of judgment, made him the most trusted leader in the faculty to which he belonged.

Frederick Warren Sanford was born at Tallula, Illinois, on April 15, 1870, graduated at Illinois College in 1890, was Professor of Latin there from 1897 to 1903, studied in Rome and Athens 1903-4, and at the University of Chicago 1904-7. From 1907 to the time of his death he was connected with the University of Nebraska as Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, and in the last year of his life as Professor and Chairman of the Department of Ancient Languages.

## THE MURDER OF CINNA, THE POET

By MONROE E. DEUTSCH  
University of California

The story of the murder of Cinna, the poet, has been immortalized by Shakespeare in his *Julius Caesar*.<sup>1</sup> In brief it runs as follows. At the time of Caesar's funeral his friend Cinna, the poet, set out to attend to do him honor; he arrived too late, and the mob which had been aroused against Caesar's murderers, on learning that he was named Cinna, tore him to pieces, confusing him with another Cinna who was believed to have been a member of the conspiracy.

As the mob attacks Cinna, Shakespeare depicts him as shouting: "I am Cinna, the poet; I am Cinna, the poet." The Fourth Citizen retorts: "Tear him for his bad verses; tear him for his bad verses." Cinna replies: "I am not Cinna, the conspirator." But the Second Citizen silences him with the words: "It is no matter; his name's Cinna; pluck but his name out of his heart, and turn him going." Thereupon the Third Citizen shouts: "Tear him, tear him!" and with these words Cinna disappears from our sight.

This is doubtless the way in which the death of Cinna will remain in the minds of men as long as Shakespeare's genius still retains its sway.

It may, however, prove of interest to inquire concerning the historical foundation of the story.

Six of our ancient authorities tell us of Cinna's death, two of them in more than one passage. Plutarch<sup>2</sup> recounts it both in the life of Brutus and that of Caesar, and alludes to it in a second passage in his *Brutus*. Valerius Maximus,<sup>3</sup> Suetonius,<sup>4</sup> Appian<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III.3.

<sup>2</sup> *Brutus* 20.5-6 (cf. also 21) and *Caesar* 68.2.

<sup>3</sup> IX.9.1.

<sup>4</sup> *Julius* 85.

<sup>5</sup> *B. C.* II.147.



and Zonaras<sup>6</sup> all relate it. Dio Cassius describes it in one passage,<sup>7</sup> and alludes to it in two other passages.<sup>8</sup> We find it then in six authors and in ten passages.

The name of the murdered man is given in full as C. Helvius Cinna by Valerius Maximus; Suetonius, Dio Cassius and Zonaras call him Helvius Cinna. Plutarch (in the three passages) and Appian refer to him by the name Cinna alone. That his death was due to the confusion of his name with that of Cornelius Cinna, is related in Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Dio and Zonaras. Plutarch and Appian allude to the confusion but refer to the other Cinna merely by his cognomen.

The mob's hostility to Cornelius Cinna is described by Valerius Maximus as due to the fact "quod, cum adfinis esset Caesaris, adversus eum nefarie raptum impiam pro rostris orationem habuisset." Similarly in the *Brutus*, Plutarch speaks of him as "the one who had recently reviled Caesar before the assembled people." With this Suetonius' statement is in harmony: "graviter pridie contionatum de Caesare." And Appian too refers to him as "the Cinna who had made a speech against Caesar." The other references, (Dio Cassius, Zonaras, Plutarch *Caesar*), mention him as a member of the conspiracy, and do not allude to this speech. He is further referred to as a praetor of that year by Dio Cassius, Appian, and Zonaras.

The Cinna of greater interest to us, the murdered Cinna, is termed *tribunus plebis* (i. e. of 44 B.C.) by Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Dio, Appian, Zonaras, in other words by all our ancient authorities save Plutarch.

This tribune, Cinna, was very useful to Caesar on an important occasion. At the time Marullus and Flavus removed the diadem from Caesar's statue and proceeded against the man who had been the first to call Caesar king as he came in from the Alban Mount, Cinna, their colleague, at Caesar's instance had them removed from office.<sup>9</sup> Suetonius tells us furthermore that it was Helvius

<sup>6</sup> X.12.

<sup>7</sup> 44.50.4.

<sup>8</sup> 44.52.2 and 46.49.2; cf. also 45.6.3 and 47.11.3. Xiphilinus 34.1.5 (Dind.) is, of course, drawn from Dio.

<sup>9</sup> Dio 44.10.3; cf. also 46.49.2.

Cinna, tribune of the plebs, who "plerisque confessus est habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Caesar ferre iussisset cum ipse abesset, uti uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa quas et quot vellet ducere liceret."<sup>10</sup>

While these two incidents are apparently not alluded to elsewhere, still Cinna is called "a friend of Caesar's" by Plutarch both in the *Brutus* and the *Caesar*, and Dio refers to him as "one of his (i. e. Caesar's) most devoted friends."

Up to this point the various accounts are in substantial harmony. If we had nothing further, we should tell the story thus:

C. Helvius Cinna was a friend of Caesar and a tribune of the plebs; in the latter capacity he secured the removal of Marullus and Flavus from office as desired by Caesar, and was ready (it was said) to propose a law during Caesar's absence, but at his request, allowing him to have as many wives as he chose. One of the praetors of the same year was also a Cinna, Cornelius Cinna. On the day before Caesar's funeral this Cinna delivered a bitter invective against him; it is also possible that he was a member of the conspiracy. Confusing the tribune Cinna, Caesar's tool, with the praetor Cinna, his enemy, the mob which had been aroused against Caesar's murderers at the time of his funeral,<sup>11</sup> tore the former to pieces.

But now we recollect that in Shakespeare the murdered man appears as Cinna the poet. What is the authority for this? We quickly find that in the ten passages describing or alluding to the incident, but one refers to him as a poet. This is in Plutarch, *Brutus* 20, where appear the words ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ.<sup>12</sup> In the life of Caesar, interestingly enough, he is referred to as "a certain Cinna, one of the friends of Caesar," but there is no mention of him as a poet. But once (it should be repeated) is Cinna described as a poet.

Now as is well known, there was a famous poet of that period

<sup>10</sup> *Iulius* 52.3.

<sup>11</sup> Valerius Maximus (IX.9.1) states that Cinna was on his way home from the funeral.

<sup>12</sup> With the meagre tools at one's disposal it has not been possible to note other instances of the use of ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ save ποιητικούς ἄμα καὶ μουσικούς

named Cinna.<sup>13</sup> He too is called Gaius Helvius Cinna by scholars. The identity of names is noteworthy. Cinna the poet, the author of the epic *Zmyrna*, the *Propempticon Pollionis* and other poems, was Catullus' intimate friend. They were companions on the journey to Bithynia in Memmius' suite, and Catullus twice<sup>14</sup> calls him *meus sodalis*.

Catullus' admiration for his friend's poetry is evinced by poem 95:

Zmyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem  
Quam coepta est nonamque edita post hiemem,  
Zmyrna cavas Satrachi penitus mittetur ad undas,  
Zmyrnam cana diu saecula pervoluent.

Parva mei mihi in cordi monumenta sodalis.

Moreover, Catullus addresses poem 113 to Cinna.

Not only did Catullus admire him greatly, but Virgil in one of his *Eclogues*<sup>15</sup> expresses the hope that he may be able some day to write verses worthy of him:

Nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna  
Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

Gaius Valgius Rufus,<sup>16</sup> too, speaks in high praise of him:

Codrusque ille canit, quali tu voce canebas,  
Atque solet numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos,  
Dulcior ut numquam Pylio profluxerit ore  
Nestoris aut docto pectore Demodoci.

Ovid<sup>17</sup> places his name with those of the following poets, Ennius, Lucretius, Catullus, Calvus, Tigidas, and Memmius, saying: "Cinna quoque his comes est."

*ἀνδρας* in Plato's *Laws* VII.802B. However *ποιητικός* is used as a substantive with the meaning "poet" in Plutarch's *Πῶς Δεῖ Τῶν Νεῶν Ποιημάτων Ἀκούειν* 20A and in Plato's *Laws* II.656 C and *Republic* X.600 E.

<sup>13</sup> *Poetae Latini Minores* (Baehrens) VI.323-4 contains all extant fragments.

<sup>14</sup> 10.29 and 95.9.

<sup>15</sup> *Ecl.* 9.35-36.

<sup>16</sup> *Carm. frg.* 2 in *Poetae Latini Minores* (Baehrens) VI.342.

<sup>17</sup> *Tristia* 2.435.

Gellius<sup>18</sup> alludes to the criticisms of Roman writers uttered by Greeks; the adjective they select for Cinna's poems is *inlepidus*. Once again Gellius<sup>19</sup> names Cinna, this time as authority for the use of *somniculosus*, and in yet another passage he quotes a characterization of Cinna<sup>19a</sup> as "non ignobilis neque indocti poetae."

The length of time he spent on his work, as for example the nine years devoted to the comparatively short *Zmyrna*, seems to have brought not merely finish but an obscurity which, while pleasant to such Alexandrians as Catullus, was criticized by others. Thus Martial,<sup>20</sup> writing on a poet Sextus whose style was obscure, comments:

Iudice te maior Cinna Marone fuit.

Philargyrius in his note on Virgil *Ecloue* 9.35 says of Cinna: "Quod obscurus fuerit, etiam Martialis ostendit in illo versu: 'Iudice te melior (sic) Cinna Marone fuit.'"

We know that Julius Hyginus wrote a commentary on the *Propempticon*,<sup>21</sup> and Lucius Crassicius of Tarentum wrote one on the *Zmyrna*; of the latter Suetonius<sup>22</sup> tells us: "he became so famous through the publication of his commentary on the 'Zmyrna' that the following verses were written about him:

'Zmyrna will trust her fate but to Crassicius;  
Cease then to woo her, ye unlettered throng.  
She has declared none other will she wed,  
Since he alone her hidden charms doth know.'

Indeed we learn from Philargyrius<sup>23</sup> that others beside Crassicius attained fame from commentaries on the *Zmyrna*: "Fuit autem liber obscurus adeo, ut et nonnulli eius aetatis grammatici in eum scripserint magnamque ex eius enarratione sint gloriam consecuti."

<sup>18</sup> XIX.9.7.

<sup>19</sup> IX.12.12.

<sup>19a</sup> XIX.13.5.

<sup>20</sup> X.21.4.

<sup>21</sup> Charisius, p. 134 K.

<sup>22</sup> Suetonius *de Grammaticis* 18.

<sup>23</sup> On Virg. *Ecl.* 9.35.



That Cinna was regarded as of considerable note as a poet is clear, then. Catullus' friend and praised in the highest of terms by him, esteemed by Virgil, spoken of with admiration by Valgius Rufus, listed in a tone of praise with other well-known poets by Ovid, he surely was one of Rome's notable poets. His protracted labor on the *Zmyrna* is mentioned by Quintilian,<sup>24</sup> as well as by Catullus, and possibly Horace too alludes to it.<sup>25</sup> Some, like Martial, criticized his obscurity, but commentaries on his writings are still known to us and brought fame not only to Crassicius but to others as well.

Now, is it conceivable that a man of such note could have been murdered at this time under such circumstances and so little mention have been made of the fact? We should recollect that in the ten ancient references but one speaks of him as a poet (Plutarch *Brutus* 20). It is not mentioned by Plutarch in his account of the same incident in his Caesar, though he characterizes him as "one of the friends of Caesar." But even Plutarch does not give the impression that he is a great or even a well-known poet; in both lives he appears as *τὸς Κίννας* (or *Κίννας τὸς*). Moreover in the *Brutus* he is not spoken of as "Cinna the poet," but "a certain Cinna, a poet."

The failure of the other writers to describe him as a poet is not due to a failure to characterize him. As we have noted, he is described as a tribune of the plebs and a friend of Caesar in the several accounts, and a careful distinction is made between him and Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, the one who had delivered an invective against Caesar and whom some described as a member of the conspiracy. The omission is not therefore due to want of care in description nor to the brevity of the account.

Cinna was a well-known poet. Had he then met his end in this way, would not the very combination of circumstances have made his mode of death more famous? Just as Pliny the Elder<sup>26</sup> is known to us both through his writings and the dramatic manner of his death, should we not have expected the same to have hap-

<sup>24</sup> X.4.4.

<sup>25</sup> Philargyrius on Virg. *Ecl.* 9.35, alluding to Horace *Ars Poetica* 388.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* VI.16.2.

pened to Cinna? Surely the combination of circumstances which involved a death at Caesar's funeral, a death due to a confusion of names, and at the same time the death of a well-known writer would have been too striking to have been passed by unnoted.

Why should Suetonius, for example, not have mentioned that the murdered Cinna was the poet if such he was? Twice in his *de Grammaticis* does he refer to the poet,<sup>27</sup> and once indeed at considerable length in reference to the fame Crassicius derived from his commentary on the *Zmyrna*. Suetonius clearly knew of Cinna; why did he not tell us that it was the well-known poet who was slain rather than describe him as the tribune of the plebs? Indeed Suetonius twice refers to the tribune and still does not reveal his identity with the poet.

Some of the scholars<sup>28</sup> who do not believe that the poet Cinna was murdered at the time of Caesar's funeral, base their objection on the couplet in Virgil's *Eclogues* previously referred to. This eclogue was written in 40 B.C. The verses run as follows:

Nam neque adhuc Vario videor, nec dicere Cinna  
Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

It is argued that because of the implication of the language and because of the fact that Varius was alive when the poem was written, we must assume that Cinna was also alive at that time. If this had been the case, he could not have been the tribune murdered in 44. In the first place, however, there is really nothing in the Latin which should cause us to assume that the two poets were then living. Moreover, Kiessling<sup>29</sup> has pointed out that these two verses are an imitation of Theocritus VII.39 foll. and that Philetas who was similarly named in the Theocritean passage was no longer alive when the poem was written. Accordingly, Virgil *Eclogue* IX.35 is of no value in determining whether

<sup>27</sup> 11 and 18.

<sup>28</sup> E. g., Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* § 107 and M. Augustus Weichert, *Poetarum Latinorum Hostii, Laevii, C. Licinii Calvi, C. Helvii Cinnae, C. Valgii Rufi, Domitii Marsi Aliorumque Vitae et Carminum Reliquiae* (1830), 156-7.

<sup>29</sup> *De C. Helvio Cinna Poeta in Commentationes Philologicae in honorem T. Mommsen* (1878), 351-355.

Cinna was still living in 40 B.C. Even if, however, on other grounds it be proved that he did not perish in 44 B.C., no light is thereby thrown upon this question, for obviously he might have died between 44 and 40 B.C.

Other scholars<sup>30</sup> deny the identity because of the *Propempticon* which Cinna wrote in honor of Asinius Pollio. It is felt that this poem, written at the time of the departure of Pollio on some journey, relates to his departure in 39 or 40 B.C. to fight the Parthini. While one would be glad to have additional arguments in support of his thesis, still it must be confessed that the fragments of the *Propempticon* are so few, and the events therein alluded to so vague, that we cannot with any assurance declare that it was written in connection with Pollio's departure on this campaign.<sup>31</sup> It may have been, but more than that we cannot say.<sup>32</sup>

It has, of course, been felt that the fact that the murdered tribune and the author of the *Zmyrna* alike bore the name of Gaius Helvius Cinna is an overwhelming argument in support of the view that the poet and the tribune were one and the same person. The name is certainly not a common one, and that two men living at precisely the same time should have borne this same *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* would have been, assuredly, a great coincidence.

<sup>30</sup> E. g., J. H. Voss in the note on *Eclogue* 9.35-36 in his edition of Virgil's *Eclogues*; the argument is also presented by Weichert (see note 28), 155. This is also the view of F. Plessis, *La Poésie Latine* (1909), 182-4.

<sup>31</sup> Martin Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte* (Zweiter Teil, 1. Hälfte) 25 declares: "Als er (=C. Asinius Pollio) eine Studienreise nach Athen unternahm, schrieb ein Genosse des Kreises, C. Helvius Cinna, ihm das Geleitsgedicht (*Propempticon*)."<sup>32</sup> A full discussion is to be found in Kiessling, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-3.

<sup>32</sup> One of the most extraordinary views that this problem has brought forth, is that of Otto Ribbeck (*Gesch. d. röm. Dicht.* I.343) to the effect that the murdered man was Cornelius Cinna, the praetor. L. Schwabe easily showed the impossibility of this view in *Philologus* 47 (1889), 169-170 (*Der Tod des Dichters Helvius Cinna*); indeed it is astounding that anyone could have read the sources most cursorily and come to this conclusion, for it is on the confusion of another Cinna, who is murdered, with Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, that the entire incident depends.

We have previously<sup>33</sup> given the evidence for the belief that the tribune was called Gaius Helvius Cinna. Let us now turn to the name of the poet. That he was called *Helvius Cinna*, appears certain. What of the *praenomen*? We learn that it is found alone in Catullus 10.30. On turning to the passage, we discover in the first place that *Cinna* is an emendation for *Cuma*, the reading of almost all the MSS. In the second place — and far more important — *Gaius* is an emendation for the MS. reading *gravis*. Otto Ribbeck,<sup>34</sup> for one, did not accept it but proposed *Gavius*. Heyse read *erat gravis*. In other words, because it was believed that the poet Cinna was the murdered tribune, and because the latter's *praenomen* was Gaius, the editors of Catullus have altered *gravis* to *Gaius*. What the correct reading is in Catullus 10.30, I do not pretend to say. It is clear, however, that we have no right to use identity of names as an argument for the belief that the poet and the tribune were one and the same, since we are nowhere told the *praenomen* of the poet save in the emendation in Catullus, which itself rests upon the belief in their identity.

It should, furthermore, be noted that the murdered Cinna is described twice by Plutarch and by Dio Cassius as well as a friend of Caesar's, the latter terming him one of Caesar's most devoted friends. This is, of course, quite in harmony with the several references to him as *tribunus plebis* of that year, and in particular to Suetonius' tale that he was to introduce at Caesar's request the law allowing Caesar to marry as many wives as he chose, and to Dio's story that it was he who again at Caesar's request secured the removal of Flavius and Marullus from office. Moreover, the contrast with Caesar's enemy, the praetor, with whom he was confused, becomes the more notable.

But was the poet Cinna one of Caesar's friends, one of his most devoted friends? Certain circumstances point to the very contrary. He was an intimate of Catullus, whose hostility to Caesar is well-known. He was in the suite of Memmius, who bitterly opposed Caesar. To meet this objection, it has been sug-

<sup>33</sup> Page 327.

<sup>34</sup> *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* (Fleckeisen) 1862: 1 p. 378. — All MSS. read *gravis*, save *abh*<sup>2</sup> which read *graius*.



gested<sup>35</sup> that probably he, like Catullus, was later reconciled to Caesar. Suetonius,<sup>36</sup> on whom we are dependent for the account of this reconciliation, describes it as follows: "Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satis facientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris eius, sicut consuerat, uti perseveravit." But granted that Catullus apologized and was invited to dinner; this is far from becoming one of his most devoted friends. And Cinna was both that and his ardent political tool.

Accordingly while we do not know at first hand of the political views of Cinna the poet, and his relations to Asinius Pollio (with whom, however, it should be noted Catullus too was on friendly terms<sup>37</sup>) might perhaps have brought him into closer relations to Caesar, still it does seem unlikely in view of his intimate friendship with Catullus and his association with Memmius, that he ever became one of Caesar's most intimate friends.

Returning now to the passage in Plutarch's *Brutus*, we see from what has been set forth, that if the words ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ had not been used, no one would have been likely to think of this Cinna as the poet. Possibly the identity of the last two names at any rate might have caused the suggestion to be made. And might this not be perhaps the reason for the reading ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ? May it not have been the gloss of a scholar who remembered the poet and assumed that they were the same?<sup>38</sup> It is to be sure barely possible that it was Plutarch who was responsible for the confusion, but the absence of the words in his *Caesar* makes it less likely. Indeed Plutarch's use of τίς in both passages and the mere ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ add to the improbability that he confused him with the famous poet. I believe that either the words ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ are

<sup>35</sup> E. g., in Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Sechste Auflage) § 213.

<sup>36</sup> *Julius* 73.

<sup>37</sup> 12.6.

<sup>38</sup> Realizing the difficulty in identifying the tribune as the famous poet, Xylander sought to clear Plutarch's pages of error by the simple device of emending ποιητικὸς to πολιτικὸς, which could, of course, have been an allusion to his position as *tribunus plebis*. This is ingenious, but has naturally not commended itself to the editors of Plutarch.

a gloss, or that the tribune of the people was himself a "bit of a poet," and that the confusion with the greater poet resulted therefrom.

At any rate it seems extremely unlikely that the murdered Cinna was the famous poet:

1. because of the ten references in the sources but one mentions that he was a poet;
2. because a number of the other accounts are clearly exercising great pains in setting forth the identity of the murdered man but still omit this statement;
3. because Plutarch omits it in one of his two accounts;
4. because Cinna was a very well-known poet and it seems highly improbable that, had he died at this time and under these circumstances, this fact would not have been mentioned;
5. because it is not very likely that the political views of Cinna the poet would have made him Caesar's tool and especially "one of his most devoted friends:"
6. because Plutarch himself speaks as though Cinna were an obscure person;
7. because Suetonius, who fails to speak of Cinna as the poet in his two references to the tribune, has nevertheless two references to the poet and the fame his commentator Crassicius received, and
8. because there is no evidence that the poet and the tribune bore the same name.

If then Plutarch (in *Brutus* 20) thought Cinna was the famous poet, it would appear that he was wrong. Possibly ποιητικὸς ἀνὴρ was a gloss that made its way into the text. It is however more likely that the tribune also dabbled in verse but was not the famous poet.

And so when in the play Shakespeare represents him as shouting: "I am Cinna the poet, I am Cinna the poet," let us remember that Shakespeare is here wholly dependent on the bare mention in Plutarch's *Brutus* and that it seems highly probable that the statement is historically incorrect.

## THE EXPOSURE OF INFANTS IN ROMAN LAW AND PRACTICE

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Nothing can be more beneficial to our understanding of ancient society than to have accepted beliefs about it called into question. These beliefs are sometimes triumphantly proved false, but, as often, it will be found that they merely need a more qualified statement, or, perhaps, that they never justified the inference which the general reader was disposed to draw. It certainly is a common belief that the Romans in early days cast out such children as they had no mind to raise. In an interesting article, Mr. H. Bennett (*CLASS. JOURN.* XVIII, 341-351) comes to the conclusion that they did not do so at all until in the third and following centuries they had become corrupted by the evil example of the Greeks.

There are two very different questions involved. First: Was the exposure of infants lawful in ancient Rome? Second: Was it practised?

It is not altogether easy to follow Mr. Bennett's legal argument, because, doubtless through typographical errors, his citations seem to have got out of place. It might be remarked in passing that, even in Germany, Romanists have ceased to use the clumsy medieval fashion of citing the *Corpus Iuris* backwards, and that both Digest and Code are now generally referred to by Book, Title, Fragment and Section, in that order. But there is another confusion besides that of printing, since the three passages which are cited on p. 351 (*Paul Sent.* V, 1, 1; *Cod. Theod.* 5, 8, 1; *Cod. Just.* 4, 43, 1 & 2) deal, not with "free-born children who had been exposed and rescued," but with children that had been sold. There is nothing therefore that was "confirmed by Honorius and reversed by Justinian" in all this. The effect of the constitutions of these emperors on the question of exposed children will be later discussed. If Mr. Bennett had proved his contention that expos-

ure was not a Roman custom, but a Greek one, he need not at all have made the admission: "All this must mean that exposure was common at Rome, at any rate from the third century on." The constitutions of Honorius and Justinian are directed to the whole empire, the Greek East as well as the Latin West. Indeed that of Justinian was dated at Chalcedon, and obviously had the East in view.

The right of exposing new-born children, if it existed, rested of course only with the father. If we remember the extraordinary extent of the Roman *patria potestas* we cannot deny that it almost inevitably implies an option not to constitute the relation of father and child, if the father wished. Otherwise we should have the curious result that a man had no right to refuse acknowledgment of the offspring presented to him, but might incontinently order its death after acknowledgment.

And that the *patria potestas* contained the power of life and death is beyond doubt. We have fortunately the formula of adrogation preserved in Aulus Gellius, (V, 19, 9). *Velitis iubeatis Quirites uti L. Valerius L. Titio tam iure legeque filius siet quam si ex eo patre matreque familias eius natus esset utique ei vitae necisque in eum potestas siet uti patri endo filio est.* For this we have the confirmation of Cicero (*De Domo*, 29, 77) *auctorne esses ut in te P. Fonteius vitae necisque potestatem haberet.* According to Papinian, it was a *lex regia* which conferred this power (Coll. 4, 8, 1). Nor was the law a dead letter. Valerius Maximus (5, 8) gives the famous instances of Cassius, Torquatus and Scaurus, as well as the Fulvius who was killed by his father in connection with the Catilinarian conspiracy (Sallust Cat. 39, 5). It had become customary to summon a *consilium* which acted as a real court, sometimes acquitting the accused son, as in the case of L. Gellius (Val. Max. v, 9, 1), sometimes pronouncing sentence of exile, as in the case of L. Tarius Rufus (Seneca, *De Clem.* 1, 14, 15). This family council or court evidently became a legal requirement as early as the time of Hadrian. In his reign a man was deported,—(a capital punishment, since it involved *capitis deminutio media*)—for having killed his son informally, *latronis magis quam patris iure*, although the provocation the father had



received was the most atrocious known to ancient society (D. 48, 9, 5). The right of putting a child to death still subsisted in the third century (Papinian, l. c., Paul, D. 28, 2, 11) and was not officially ended until 318 by a constitution of Constantine (Cod. Just. 9, 17, 1). Even then, one of the most ancient examples of its exercise, the killing of a daughter found in adultery, was still law.

Mr. Bennett mentions the fact that deformed children not only might be, but according to the Twelve Tables, were required to be killed. This was done generally by drowning, and Seneca speaks of it as something well-known and common, *liberos quoque si debiles monstrosique editi sunt, mergimus* (*De Ira* 1, 15).

The exposing of infant children was unequivocally forbidden by a constitution of Valentinian of 374 (Cod. 8, 51 (52), 2). *Unusquisque subolem suam nutriat. Quod si exponendam putaverit animadversioni quae constituta est, subiacebit.* It will be seen that the imperial ukase does not establish a penalty but speaks of one already established. How long established? That must largely depend on the value we are to assign to a passage from Paul's Sentences (D. 25, 3, 4), *necare videtur non tantum is qui partum praefocat sed et is qui abiicit et qui alimonia denegat et is qui publicis locis misericordiae causa exponit quam ipse non habet.* There is nothing really uncertain about the text, as Mr. Bennett seems to suppose. The only manuscript variant is *perfocat* instead of *praefocat*, and in either case the sense of the word is "strangle." The doubt which the passage occasions is due to the fact that it is found only in the Digest and not in the other forms in which Paul's Sentences have been largely preserved, the Breviary of Alaric, the *Collatio* or the *Consultatio*.

It will not be necessary to examine, at this point, the vexed question of the authenticity of the fragments in the Corpus Iuris. There is every reason to believe that Paul's statement is quite correct, and that exposure in his time, the middle of the third century, was already prohibited, at any rate as an arbitrary determination of the father. All that Paul is doing is defining the term *necare*. Strictly, exposure in a public place with the possibility that a stranger might rescue and rear the abandoned

child, is something short of actual killing. Paul simply decides that the word *necare* is broader than mere physical putting to death and includes this act which, without a new intervening act of mercy, is certain to result in death. He is surely right on this point both as a matter of law and of common sense, but it does not seem to have been noticed by jurists that he is doing no more than defining terms. To the extent that killing a child was lawful, and to no greater an extent, exposing it at birth was lawful. The restrictions on the *ius patris* in the time of Paul, have already been discussed. The right was so hedged and so strongly reprobated as to have become practically obsolete. It demanded among other things the proof of some offense deserving of extreme punishment. Such proof could scarcely be offered in the case of a new-born infant. When Valentinian issued his constitution, the killing of a child had been made parricide more than fifty years ago. He had therefore merely to refer to the *poena constituta*.

It may further be noted that Paul is speaking not merely of a father, but of any one. A mother, a nurse, a stranger, who exposed a child was indubitably guilty of murder. And that this might happen is shown in the case involved in a constitution of 224 (Cod. Just. 8, 51. 1)

But the purpose of Valentinian's constitution was not merely that of confirming or restating established law. What he intended to do was to cut off completely the right of masters or patrons to reclaim the children they had abandoned. Fathers are not expressly mentioned. The rights of masters and fathers against those who had rescued and brought up exposed children were differently regulated at different times. Mr. Bennett mentions the passage in Pliny's correspondence with Trajan (*Ep.* X, 65 & 66). Trajan decides that in Bithynia an exposed child that had been rescued and brought up by its rescuer as a slave might at any time establish its status as free and owed its rescuer nothing, by way of money compensation. It is often asserted, even in Professor Merrill's admirable edition (p. 430), that Constantine reversed Trajan's decision (Cod. Theod. 5, 7, 1), and that Justinian reestablished it (Cod. Just. 8, 51, 3). That is not quite accurate. Trajan, in the first place, is specifically dealing only

with Bithynia, and certainly implies that the law in many other provinces was just the opposite. Constantine, therefore, is merely disregarding a local exception. Secondly, Trajan is dealing with the rights of the free-born child himself, and Constantine with the rights of the guilty father.

Justinian enormously extended the rights of children who had been so hardly dealt with, by making them forever and for all purposes *ingenui*, even though they were of servile origin or one of the intermediate states of freedom that existed in the sixth century. This was a most extraordinary regulation, since it did nothing more or less than create a new form of emancipation, and seems to indicate the presence of a gross abuse. It will be seen that the constitutions of Constantine and his successors are more concerned with slaves than with free children that are abandoned at birth, and we can readily see that the cases of the former would be much more numerous than the latter.

There are situations in which the legal right of exposing children, that is, of determining whether they were to be reared or not, could not well be exercised. One is the case of posthumous children whose rights were carefully safeguarded by a number of enactments and decisions, and who were protected even before birth. Another case is that of the offspring of divorced women, for which by the *Senatus consultum Plancianum* (before Hadrian's death), recognition could be compelled by the mother, if she observed appropriate formalities (Dig. 25, 3). In fact, this *senatus consultum* strongly confirms the statement of Paul, quoted above, that new-born children were protected against paternal neglect or cruelty as much as full-grown sons would be. For it is apparent that if the father could be compelled to acknowledge a child, so that its property rights immediately vested, he had no option to order its exposure. And this compulsion was extended to children born during the continuance of the marriage relation, by another *senatus consultum*, also under Hadrian (D. 25, 3, 3, 1).

The second question, whether, legal or not, the exposure of infants was practised in ancient Rome, is not so easy to answer. But it is quite too much to say that there is no evidence.

Mr. Bennett is inclined to treat lightly the words, *tollere*,

*suscipere*. But if these words do not bear their ordinary meaning, it is hard to see why they were selected. The custom seems to fit in well with what we know of Roman usage. Suppose a man questioned the legitimacy of the child presented to him. Until Hadrian, he evidently could do so arbitrarily. There was a moment at which he made his decision. And if he rejected a child because he professed to believe it illegitimate, he could reject it for any reason — even without reason — since his decision could not be reviewed. The traditional view that the child was laid at his feet, and that he took it up, or did not do so, *sustulit, suscepit*, sounds quite plausible. If the word does not mean about what we generally suppose it to mean, what shall we make of the lament of Cicero (*Ad Att.* xi, 9, 3): *Haec ad te die natali meo scripsi. Quo utinam susceptus non essem aut ne quid ex eadem matre postea natum esset!*

The fact that Mr. Bennett can find no certain instances of exposure in Republican Rome is not conclusive. There is no instance mentioned of the sale of children. Yet such sales were regulated in the Twelve Tables, were legislated about, at other times, were referred to as though they were a matter of course, and it is impossible to suppose that they never took place. In the same way, we might use the *argumentum ex silentio* to prove the contrary of Mr. Bennett's proposition. For, when Tacitus speaks of the fact that the Germans (*Germania*, 19) and the Jews (*Hist.* 5, 5) reared all their children, it undoubtedly sounds as though he thought the fact exceptional.

The practice of infant exposure was common to several Indo-European peoples, to the Germans, despite Tacitus, to the Hindoos, as well as to the Greeks. (Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, s. v. *Aussetzungsrecht*, p. 51; *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, pp. 563 seq.) That proves nothing for the Romans but takes a little of the odium from the Greeks. Who knows but that when the still undifferentiated Italo-Kelts roamed the sub-Alpine forests, they learned this evil habit from an ancestor of Nietzsche?

But principally, Mr. Bennett deals far too lightly with the evidence of the Roman comic writers. It plainly will not do to reject their statements, bag and baggage, as mere translations of

the Greek. Plautus, for example, freely paraphrased rather than translated his models. And both Plautus and Terence constantly applied their dialogue and story to a background that contained a large number of Roman elements. A great many elements of social life were after all common to both Romans and Greeks, and where they differed strikingly, attention was generally called to that fact. Indeed, that is particularly true of legal institutions, as I took occasion to point out some time ago (*Class. Phil.* V, 365). If the practice of exposing children were unfamiliar to the Romans, the plots of most of the plays they heard would be unintelligible or grotesquely unreal. When we read in the prologue of the *Casina* — hardly later than a century after Plautus — vss. 68 seq.:

Quaeso hercle, quid istuc est? serviles nuptiae?  
 Novom attulerunt quod fit nusquam gentium.  
 At ego aio id fieri in Graecia et Carthagini.

it is hard to suppose that some reference would not be made to a strange and foreign custom on which the plots of most comedies depended.

The same may be said of the pseudo-Quintilian Declamations and the Senecan Controversies. They do indeed seek their subjects from all corners of the Mediterranean, but when they are specifically dealing with a non-Roman topic, they make that clear enough.

Exposure of a legitimate child can never have been common. If the infant mortality of ancient Rome was as great as it is at present in some Mediterranean countries, parents would rarely be tempted to destroy children in a community which laid such enormous stress on the perpetuity of family sacra. But a useless girl, who could neither vote nor fight nor acquire riches by trade, and who would have to be dowered, must have occasionally been set out *locis publicis misericordiae causa quam (pater) ipse non habet*. That is indicated strongly enough in Latin literature. It is almost a necessary implication of the unrestricted *patria potestas*. The later centuries of the Empire saw it legally restricted, just as the *patria potestas* was. *Graecia mendax* was not responsible for all the vices of Roman society.



## THE ROMAN STATE AT SHORTRIDGE HIGH SCHOOL<sup>1</sup>

By MINNIE LLOYD  
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I have been asked to tell you about The Roman State of Shortridge High School. I shall not tell you all of the details embodied in the constitution of the Roman State, but rather some of the things the State does.

Previous to the existence of the Roman State, Shortridge had a Latin Club to which only Freshmen and Sophomores belonged. Three years ago Miss Marthens, the head of our department, asked us to consider whether we should continue having such a club or should organize one which would include Juniors and Seniors as members. It was decided to have a club for all the Latin pupils and as a result we organized a Roman State.

Our organization in Shortridge consists of nearly twelve hundred members. All Freshmen of the fall and spring semesters each year are Roman children and become citizens at the festival of the Liberalia, March the seventeenth, by a ceremony in Latin, which is translated sentence by sentence. They have come in tribes, not families, as the Romans were accustomed to do, from the forum to the temple of Liber on the Capitoline Hill. The seven hills on which Rome was built are in Shortridge certain rooms in which Latin is taught; the gymnasium is the Circus Maximus, the study hall, the Coliseum, and the auditorium, the Campus Martius. This year for our convenience we moved the Coliseum out of the study hall and put the Capitoline Hill in it. Seven of the praetors gave short talks explaining the organization, the Feast of Liberalia, the Roman dress, and other topics of interest to Freshmen. The praetor urbanus presided and

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Latin Teachers' Conference and Institute, Indiana University, April 25, 26, 1924.

talked about the greatness of Rome and the duties of loyal citizens. I sat by one of the praetors as the children came to be enrolled. I was interested in the seriousness, especially of the little negroes: one said, very laboriously, *Meum nomen est Marcus Julius Benignus*, another, *Meum nomen est Gaius Tullius Explorator*, as fast as if he had practiced saying it for hours. Their *bullae* (which they made), their playthings, and the consecrated cake, were put on an improvised altar, on which there were figurines for gods and goddesses. The Freshmen brought sheets to serve as the toga virilis and the upper classmen put them on the newly-made citizens. After the Pontifex Maximus had offered prayer, he told these young Romans to go home to a feast which had been prepared for them there.

At the time of the Liberalia this year four teachers were adopted into senatorial families by four pupil adopters. The Pontifex Maximus had given his consent for their adoption and he performed the ceremony. We have worked out the ceremony, the *adoptio*, as a series of questions and answers, asking the consent of the adopter, the one to be adopted and the Roman people assembled. All the Latin teachers, the Roman History teachers, two art teachers, and one English teacher, the principal, vice-principal, and one teacher of the biology department have been adopted. A Roman name is given to the one adopted and we have used such cognomina as characterize the teacher. Miss Laura Donnan is a woman whom we revere very much — her name is *Fidelissimus*. We call a good friend of ours in the history department, *Stabilis*; another lovely young teacher, *Amandus*, for she is one who should be loved; one of the art teachers, whom we greatly admire, *Cato*, for the great old Roman Cato; our principal, *Amicus*. Professor Berry of Indiana gave me some valuable suggestions for this program.

Our organization into thirty-five tribes, into *plebes*, *equites* and *senatores*, our officers with their various duties corresponding in some measure to those of the ancient Roman officers, I shall merely mention. We have never had the tribunes do any thing of importance to show their power and we shall welcome any

suggestion. When we first organized we assigned the senators equally among the tribes; the equites and plebes likewise. Each year we now assign the new citizens equally among the tribes. We also have tribe leaders, a senator or two, depending on the number in the tribe, who get in touch with their tribe members before the election in the fall and the Liberalia in the spring as at these programs the tribes sit together. Some of our adaptations — for example, that we have two centuries only in each tribe, the Junior and Senior — are explained at the time of the election; others in short talks that pupils make in all the classes each semester. I have been having some of the Cicero pupils make these talks this year. After studying the organization of the old Roman State in comparison with our own, they give a summary of this investigation to the Latin classes.

Each Latin pupil is enrolled on a membership card, which on the face shows the pupil's Roman name, and the century and tribe to which he belongs. On the back of the card is the telephone number, the session room, and his Latin class. This record is kept up-to-date. Members' names are put in an old file when they are not taking Latin, removed when leaving school; and new pupils are put in the current file.

Our Constitution provides that no tax can be levied except to relieve the suffering of the poor. The amount of tax is left to the individual pupil, because membership in the State is not voluntary, but is by virtue only of one's being a Latin pupil. When the consuls, twice a year, levy the tax they say that the privilege of assessing one's own property is enjoyed by the citizens of no other state — that each one may determine his own wealth and pay a tax of from one to ten cents; sometimes the range is from five to twenty-five cents. If he has no property he need not pay any tax. This money pays all of our expenses and with it, too, we have accumulated a number of properties. We have shields, helmets, swords, two wonderful chariots, axes, fasces, togas, tunics, charioteer costumes, vestal virgin costumes, much decorative crepe paper; and many posters to be used at various times, with the art department continually making us

new ones. For example, we have a handsome *Cave Canem* and copies of several of the election posters found at Pompeii. Some senators two years ago designed for us a small, inexpensive, shield-shaped pin with *S.P.Q.R.* on it. Besides our posters, we have a fine publicity agent in our Daily Echo, which gives us

Our first program, the election, takes place in the Campus Martius in October. Seventeen days before the election all candidates for officers are advertised in the Echo, in classes, and on bulletin boards — each sponsored by a class or by one or more individuals. Each year we have had a pupil in school, who the year before was one of the consuls, to take charge of the election. We hold a *contio* immediately before the election to explain the state itself, the manner of voting, the officers, their duties, and the dignity of the various offices. Auspices are taken in the presence of the State, to convey some idea of what they are. One year we had clay pigeons, shot from the balcony, to come fluttering to the stage. This is not successful, as they do not flutter well and they break easily. At one time we had a beautiful angora cat walk across an imaginary square on the platform. It did not want to go, so the Pontifex Maximus directed it across, as our auspices had to be favorable! Again we had a flash light powder go off where we could see it through the glass transom, to represent a flash of lightning in the sky. Following the auspices the assembly becomes the *Comitia Centuriata*, and a little later, the *Comitia Tributa*. A chip is shaken from an urn and on it is the name of the century or tribe which is to vote first. *Praecones* read the list of candidates and lists are also at conspicuous places on the board; two consuls, two censors, and eight praetors are voted for in one election, four aediles, five tribunes and two quaestors in the other. All *plebes*, *equites*, and *senatores* may participate in both Comitia. An interesting piece of campaign work done by one of our pupils, whose name is T. Cornelius Scipio, was a card on which was the slogan, *Scipio et Salus, non Sanquis*.

In November there is a meeting of the senate at which the newly elected officers take the oath of office and matters of

public interest are discussed. This year, for example, we amended the Constitution. One year, in November, Mrs. Grace Morrison, one of the Latin teachers, put on a most excellent pantomime, *Pro Domo Patriaque*, which she had written. In this one play were represented more ideas and customs of the Romans in their public and private life than in any program I ever saw.

The spectacular Saturnalia, in charge of Miss Anna Claybaugh, assisted by Miss Emily Dodson, is a great event Friday evening before Christmas. This year over two hundred fifty pupils were in costume and more than a thousand looked on. You should have seen the grand march, Anthony and Cleopatra carried on a *lectica*, Roman matrons and children, and many other interesting characterizations. A negro girl of her own initiative dressed up as a Nubian and took first prize for unique costume. The pupils of one of my Cicero classes represented the descendants of the nations Caesar conquered, including among others a Swiss, a Belgian, an Egyptian, and an Armenian. You would have enjoyed the chariot race for the boys really raced and on rounding a post, a wheel came off — it was very realistic. We have a boy who is part Indian who we believe some day may be another Faber, as he writes beautifully and his interest in science is remarkable. He gave us a real thrill — an Indian dance, with a long live snake in his hands. In the Saturnalia the child's love of parade, of costume, his histrionic ability are given an outlet and certainly Latin ceases to be a dead language. The lack of rehearsal and the ingenuity in adapting what is near at hand is splendid. The make-believe world of the child comes into its own. One of the English teachers said that she has never seen the equal to this carnival for spontaneity and natural abandon.

In the spring term various programs are given. One time Miss Marthens had some of the girls give the Vestal Virgin drill. At another time one of the teachers staged "Pyramus and Thisbe." Both performances were beautifully executed. Both last year and this we have had a moving picture. The



manager of Keith's Theatre donated to us the use of the theatre, furnished the operator and last year in addition, gave twenty-five dollars in prizes to two boys who made short talks, one about Caesar's life, another about his achievements. Last year we showed a Caesar film and this year on Saturday morning, April the twelfth, "The Descent into Avernus." At this performance, because the film is very short, we had a band concert at ten o'clock, a musical concert at ten-thirty consisting of two trio selections (piano, cello, and violin), and selections by a harpist and violinist. After the musical concert one of the senators spoke in appreciation of Vergil and in interpretation of the film. We admitted by free tickets twelve hundred Shortridge pupils and four hundred from the other high schools. Next year we shall probably show "Last Days of Pompeii." In March this year the University of Indiana lent its forty mounted pictures of Caesar's life and his times; it was an interesting exhibit.

The banquet is the last event of all the year. Perhaps many of you have had banquets, but may I tell you something about ours? Our lunch room is an ugly old place but it looks a little like a Roman peristyle, perhaps because there are pillars in the room. These pillars and old pipes along the ceiling are decorated in crepe paper in Roman colors. We use the center section between the two rows of pillars for Roman furnishings: Roman chairs and benches, a side board, and some statuary are placed about in this space. Particularly decorative are some metal torches we borrow from an old man who makes them by hand. Our *Cave Canem* hangs in the entrance. At one end of this open space which goes through the middle of the room is a table, set with goblets and other dishes that look like Roman dishes, near which several officers of the State, clad in togas, recline on couches. At the other end is an American-style table for our honor guests and there are similar tables at the sides for over two hundred and fifty pupils.

A nomenclator, who was supposed in Rome to direct the guests to their seats and to announce what was served in each new dish,

has his duties enlarged upon at our banquet. From the beginning to the end he announces the program and tells interesting things concerning the Romans' customs in dining. For instance he tells that the Romans used no sugar, that they used spoons instead of knives and forks. The program during the banquet can be made very interesting. We have five courses — three for the *cena* proper. When all are comfortably arranged to eat, a libation of wine is poured on the table and prayer is offered to Jupiter and Bacchus by the Pontifex Maximus. He hands the cup to the Consul who drains it. Between courses we have had lovely Greek dancing girls, readings, (one poem, *S.P.Q.R.*, written by one of our teachers), toasts given by honor guests (we were happy last year to have Professor Berry of Indiana University talk to us), Latin vocal solos, harp music, a boxing match, and various other interesting numbers. After the fourth course an altar is carried in by slaves with the Lares and Penates on it. The Pontifex Maximus puts his fingers to his lips, and in that position turns around three times. He solemnly offers prayer to the household gods and gives them salted meal; after this the altar is removed.

The Greek classes, dressed in tunics, act as slaves. They pass vessels of water for the hands of the banqueters before the feast. The slaves pass between the table of the Roman officers and the couches and really wait upon the guests. At the remaining tables the other Roman method of serving is used: the food is put on big silver trays (really aluminum) and each guest reaches for his own food. Here again the children have a chance to dress up — to be actors and actresses. They love it! I overheard one of the praetors call, *Serve, serve*, and a slave excitedly hurried to do his master's bidding. The praetor said very lazily, "Break this bread," then, "Feed it to me." We had favors last year made of scrolls of rice paper on slender sticks, dipped in colored melted wax for knobs. On these the menu was printed in Latin.

The woman who provides our banquet (which costs fifty cents a plate) found a baker who makes us loaves of bread like the Roman loaves, and for one course we always have bread and

strained honey. Our menu ranges from an appetizing egg dish to apples. We have different vegetables — beans, asparagus, radishes and lettuce. The salads consist of cucumbers, lettuce, or cabbage with an oil and vinegar dressing. Once we had bacon and baked chicken; another time meat balls and roast pork. Usually nuts, raisins, fresh fruits, cakes, and olives are served. Our wine at each course is grape and lemon juices.

The teachers of the Latin Department are all willing to co-operate at any time — whether it is a regular program, or a special program, or for that matter at any other time. Without the co-operation of our other friends in Shortridge and our friends outside the school we could not be nearly so successful. One Roman History teacher told us that this organization helped in her classes for since the existence of our State she always has had a nucleus of people with some knowledge of and an active interest in Roman government. Our Principal said he had been told that Latin was a dead language but, for his part, he believed it was about the liveliest thing in Shortridge High School. It is interesting to hear a successful business man (the manager of the theatre who so generously has given us the use of it) express his surprise over the fact that Latin can be as vital as athletics.

In conclusion I may say that this form of club is easily adapted to high schools of all sizes. I used it successfully a few years ago in a town of about thirty thousand and organized it in one of about five thousand. One does not need thirty-five tribes nor so many of each kind of officer. The State in itself teaches the old republic of Caesar and Cicero and it forms a working and workable basis for all programs and all attempts to teach Roman private and public life. It creates an atmosphere which carries over into our classes and really helps to vitalize the teaching of Latin.

## ROMAN HERO WORSHIP

JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.  
Princeton, N. J.

"He wrote histories, in large characters, with his own hand, that so his son, without stirring out of the house, might learn to know about his countrymen and forefathers."

Thus writes Plutarch in his life of Cato the Censor (20.5. The translation is A. H. Clough's). We wish that we had Cato's home-made histories so that we might be sure of the character of the paragons of bygone days which the old Puritan felt safe in commending to the attention of his son. But even without such interesting works we have abundant evidence for knowing that the Romans held their forefathers in the highest degree of veneration.

From his earliest days the Roman boy of the better class was accustomed to see in the atrium of his home the life-like masks (*imagines*) of his more distinguished ancestors, so that, in contrast, the self-made Cicero can claim, with the greatest truth, that he lacked the living presence of celebrated forebears to recall him from the error of his ways.<sup>1</sup> Later, in the rhetorical schools, the boy was purposely sent to the annals of his ancestors to find subjects that might "point a moral or adorn a tale;"<sup>2</sup> and thus the memory of past deeds was kept forever fresh. Works such as that of Valerius Maximus were compiled to serve this very purpose. The literature which the boy read was, in its prime, intensely patriotic, for patriotism is one of the strongest inspirations of the best Latin literature. One needs turn but a few pages

<sup>1</sup> *De leg. agr.* 2.36.100: "Si quid deliquero, nullae sunt imagines quae me a vobis deprecantur." Cf. also *De leg. agr.* 2.1.1., *Pro Cael.* 14.34; Sallust "*Jug.*" 85.10, 85.25; Suetonius "*Vesp.*" chap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Juvenal 10.167: "Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias." Cf. also Juvenal 1.16, 7.160 ff.; Quintilian 3.8.19.

of Livy or Vergil or Horace before this truth impresses itself upon him. Moreover, as the funeral procession of a member of a great family passed through the streets of Rome, the wax *imagines* preceding the bier recalled to many a bystander the brave deeds of old. Polybius (6.53-54) tells us also that at Rome boys were taken to hear the funeral orations pronounced above the remains of eminent Romans who had passed away, that so they might be aroused to emulate the achievements of such men. Then, too, the conspicuous position of the tombs of the great and wealthy, lining the principal highways close to the large towns, must have exerted on the minds of the passersby an influence that we cannot properly appraise.<sup>3</sup>

Other influences could be mentioned that tended to keep the Romans forever in the spiritual presence of their more distinguished ancestors.<sup>4</sup> In a true sense they did not let their great men die.<sup>5</sup> Augustus' proclamation, in connection with his restoration of the statues of those leaders who had built up the Roman state, is very much in point: "I have contrived this to lead the citizens to require me, while I live, and the rulers of later times as well, to attain the standard set by those worthies of old."<sup>6</sup> Consciously, later Romans turned to these great men for inspiration and guidance. For them the past was a living past. Above all did they appreciate the educative value of such a retrospect. So Cicero, in a famous passage of the *Pro Archia* (6.14), testifies to the great service of literature in preserving to future generations the record of great lives: "How many images of very distinguished men, vividly portrayed, have writers, both Greek and Latin, left us, not only for our inspection but likewise for our emulation! These I kept ever before my eyes in my task of directing the government and so trained my heart and mind by the actual contemplation of the lives of superior men."

<sup>3</sup> See F. F. Abbott, "Society and Politics in Ancient Rome," pp. 183-84, and "The Common People of Ancient Rome," p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> E. g., the influence of the *Parentalia*, of public statues, of such cognomina as "Africanus," "Cunctator," "Publicola," etc.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Horace, "Odes" 4.8.28: "Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori."

<sup>6</sup> Suetonius, "Aug." 31.5 (J. C. Rolfe's translation).



It is this *ipsa contemplatio* that the contemplative Seneca, a century later, several times commends to his pupil Lucilius. "Hear and take to heart this useful and wholesome motto: 'Cherish some man of high character, and keep him ever before your eyes, living as if he were watching you, and ordering all your actions as if he beheld them.' Such, my dear Lucilius, is the counsel of Epicurus; he has quite properly given us a guardian and an attendant. We can get rid of most sins, if we have a witness who stands near us when we are likely to go wrong. The soul should have someone whom it can respect — one by whose authority it may make even its inner shrine more hallowed. Happy is the man who can make others better, not merely when he is in their company, but even when he is in their thoughts! And happy also is he who can so revere a man as to calm and regulate himself by calling him to mind! One who can so revere another will soon be himself worthy of reverence. Choose therefore a Cato: or, if Cato seems too severe a model, choose some Laelius, a gentler spirit. Choose a master whose life, conversation, and soul-expressing face have satisfied you; picture him always to yourself as your protector or your pattern."<sup>7</sup> Here are the lessons of great lives made evident — to serve as sure models in the everyday world of even the humblest men.

In seeking to determine the great names of the past to which the Romans turned for ethical guidance it is not essential that we should possess such works as Varro's *Imagines* or the books *De Viris Illustribus* of Suetonius and of St. Jerome (though the latter work of these three is extant); nor that we should have recourse to such as Valerius Maximus' nine books of "Memorable Words and Deeds"—a most engaging potpourri—or the *De Viris Illustribus* attributed to the Fourth Century writer, Aurelius Victor. For a reading of the best Latin writers will soon reveal a multitude of names from the past which are mentioned as clear exponents of virtues to be cultivated or, less frequently, of vices to be shunned. Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Seneca, and Juvenal are especially rich in abundant references to Rome's celebrated heroes.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep, Mor.* 11.8-10 (R. M. Gummere's Translation); cf. also 25.5-6, 104.21.

Naturally the list of celebrities lengthens as the years pass. Each century of the history of the state witnessed the canonization of a few more sublime spirits whose lives were held to offer moral instruction for future ages, though the more or less legendary heroes of the oldest days of the Republic continued, in general, to be the most revered. Our heroes gallery, should we form one, would contain portraits of those famous figures of the dim past — the Camilli, Fabricii, Decii, and the like — about whom the ages have cast a mantle of sanctified glory and placed beyond the reach of human error; and side by side with them would be seen more historical figures — like Caesar, Cato of Utica, and Marcus Brutus — who have not yet passed beyond the stormy waves of political prejudice. The field of war would seem to have furnished the Roman with most of his heroic models, as is quite natural in a warlike nation; but there would be ethical characters too from among statesmen (Cato the Censor, Cicero, Augustus) and poets (Ennius, Vergil), with here and there a woman (Cloelia, Cornelia, Arria) who has honored her sex and race.

The virtues extolled in these venerated lives are preeminently the old Roman virtues — honor, fidelity, justice, earnestness, perseverance, temperance, chastity — above all, courage and rugged simplicity, such as built a mighty empire from a humble farming village.<sup>8</sup> It is natural that the vices should occupy less space, but these are not to be ignored; for the Roman taught by negative injunction as well as by positive precept. Thus examples of injustice, intemperance, undue severity and downright cruelty, and disobedience to the established order are also to be found emphasized.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Horace "Odes" 3.6.33 ff.

<sup>9</sup> For a list of ethical models such as I have referred to in this article, see H. W. Litchfield, "National *Exempla Virtutis* in Roman Literature" (in "Harvard Studies in Classical Philology," vol. 25, 1914, pp. 1-71), esp. the tables on pages 28-35.

## THE CLASSICAL MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

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One of the noticeable results of the World War has been a loosening of the scholarly and scientific ties between the United States and Germany; at the same time, quite naturally, there has been a forming of such bonds between the United States and France. The drift of events was indicated by the appearance in 1917, under the editorship of a group of American scholars, of the volume entitled "Science and Learning in France," sponsored also by about five hundred other American scholars, who joined with the authors in "making this book a national homage, offered from the Universities of America to the Universities of France."

Now it was just at that time, in 1917, when a few stout-hearted spirits among the classicists of France banded themselves together to promote classical scholarship in France and to secure for French scholarship that recognition which is properly its due. They named the society the Association Guillaume Budé, after the famous French scholar who established truly critical scholarship in France. They commenced a series of editions of the classical authors, with translations; they have been issuing them for some time, about sixty volumes being now published. The texts are of an independent critical nature, as it is strictly forbidden to use any previous edition as a basis for their establishment; the editors are required to make the manuscripts their point of departure. The translations are in wonderfully brilliant and lucid French. The text and translation are issued either together, with translation facing text, or separately. The authors now available, in part or in whole, are Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Antiphon, Plato, Aristotle, The-

ophrastus, Callimachus, Lysias; Lucretius, Catullus, Cicero, Nepos, Tibullus, Ovid, Phaedrus, Seneca the Philosopher, Petronius, Tacitus, Persius, Juvenal, Apuleius. The reception accorded to the series has been far beyond the fondest hopes of the founders of the Association, coming largely from the general reading public, not from professed classicists. Could nearly five thousand copies of a volume of Plato's *Dialogues* be sold in this country within three years? And the Lucretius is already in a second edition.

The Délégué Général of the Association, M. Jean Malys, visited this country last spring; he was already well known here, as artillery instructor among the camps and later by his attachment to the French High Commission. He planned to come again in January, 1925, for a three months' visit in the interests of the Association, but has been obliged by ill-health to postpone his trip until a later date. As soon as his health permits, however, he expects to be here. I am sure that many of our institutions of learning would gladly secure him for lectures, if they realized the charm and literary ability of this young Frenchman. Through the columns of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, therefore, I am trying to call attention to his prospective tour and to the Association which he represents.<sup>1</sup>

It is a pleasure and an honor to present the special message to American classicists from Professor Maurice Croiset, President of the Association Guillaume Budé: "Notre objet, vous le savez, est de favoriser l'extension de la culture grecque et latine, que nous considérons comme un des éléments essentiels d'une éducation complète et vraiment libérale. C'est en effet dans les littératures anciennes que l'on apprend à connaître le développement de l'humanité civilisée. On y observe les longs tâtonnements de la pensée à la recherche du vrai; on y recueille, à leur source même, les enseignements et les expériences qui ont peu à peu constitué le patrimoine moral dont nous vivons. Et plus nous nous éloignons de ce passé, plus il est nécessaire d'en ressaisir

<sup>1</sup> Inquiries as to dates and honorarium should be addressed to Dr. S. P. Duggan, 522 Fifth Ave., New York City, or to the writer of this article.

la tradition, si nous ne voulons pas perdre le sentiment de ce que nous devons à nos origines. Notre intention a été bien comprise autour de nous. Rien ne nous serait plus agréable que de la voir également appréciée et encouragée dans un pays où tant d'énergies nouvelles s'orientent vers l'avenir."

There are already at least 150 American members of the Association, who pay an annual fee of ten francs (about 55 cents) and receive in return a quarterly Bulletin containing original articles of scholarly value and a bibliography of recent French publications in literary and historical fields. They receive its own publications at twenty-five per cent discount, and may secure at favorable rates other French publications, in the purchase of which the Association acts as their agent. There are other advantages, which need not be enumerated here (see the *Classical Weekly* for October 20, 1924); but surely many American scholars would desire to be associated with this notable enterprise, begun and conducted by scholars in the face of discouraging conditions, and now a splendid realization. The chief difficulty is that the annual fee is so small that it is difficult to send; appreciating this fact, M. Malys has authorized the writer to receive and transmit membership fees and orders for books, a service which he will be glad to perform for any reader of this notice. He bespeaks also for M. Malys a cordial welcome in this country, as a slight return for the gracious message sent to us by the distinguished President of the Association.



## GREEK COLONIES AND THE HINTERLAND

By ROBERT J. BONNER  
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Xenophon's account in the *Anabasis* of his dealings with the Greek cities of the Pontus visited by the Ten Thousand throws considerable light on a neglected aspect of the expansion of Hellas, viz., the relations between the colonists and the native population. The Hellenic settlements founded along the south shore of the Pontus in the eighth century had a very definite hinterland marked off from the rest of the Persian empire by the mountain barrier which parallels the coast. Nominally these lands belonged to the Persian empire but Xenophon did not find a vestige of royal authority after entering the Armenian highlands. The King's writ did not run in the coastal regions. The last forces encountered were those of Tiribazus, lieutenant of the satrap of Armenia. Some of the native tribes offered strenuous resistance to the passage of the Greeks on their own account. Xenophon (V.5,17) says expressly that the Taochi and the Carduchians were independent of the king. In asking for a passage through the territory of the latter the Greeks emphasized the fact that they, too, were hostile to the king (IV.1,8). Corylas, the powerful Paphlagonian chief, openly refused to aid Artaxerxes in his struggle with Cyrus (V.6,8). Xenophon himself long cherished a project for settling the Cyreians in some favorable location on the Pontus. His enthusiastic description of Calpe shows that he regarded it as an ideal location for such a settlement. The requisites were an easily defended promontory, a good harbor, a supply of fresh water, a stretch of arable land in the vicinity, abundance of ship building timber and a well populated and productive hinterland.

"Now the haven of Calpe lies exactly midway, halving the voyage between Byzantium and Heraclea. It is a long promontory running into the sea, the seaward portion being a rocky preci-

pice, at no point less than twenty fathoms high; but on the landward side there is a neck about four hundred feet wide; and the space inside the neck is capable of accommodating ten thousand inhabitants, and there is a haven immediately under the crag with a beach facing the west. Then there is a copious spring flowing on the very marge of the sea commanded by the stronghold. Again, there is plenty of wood of various sorts; but most plentiful of all, fine shipbuilding timber down to the very edge of the sea. The upland stretches into the heart of the country for twenty furlongs at least. It is good loamy soil free from stones. For a still greater distance the seaboard is thickly grown with large timber of every description. The surrounding country is beautiful and spacious, containing numerous well-populated villages. The soil produces barley and wheat and pulse of all sorts, millet and sesame, figs in ample supply with numerous vines producing sweet wine, and indeed everything else except olives."<sup>1</sup>

The chief Hellenic city in this region was Sinope, a Milesian colony which had itself founded Cotyora, Cerasus and Trebizond at favorable points along the coast. Trebizond was two hundred and fifty miles east of Sinope.

It is not easy to determine how much territory a Greek colony controlled beyond the wall that guarded the promontory upon which it was usually built.<sup>2</sup> There was a considerable stretch of territory in the immediate neighborhood which was more or less effectively controlled by the city. Beyond this lay the friendly native communities and villages corresponding roughly to the modern sphere of influence. At suitable points in these territories, trade centers were established which were capable of warding off sudden raids but not sustained attacks. Naturally a seafaring people would select spots along the coast for the establishment of these so called *χωρία*. These depots and the territory surrounding them constituted the territory (*χώρα*) of the city. The name of the territory tributary to a city was derived from the name of the city, e. g. Heracleotis, Sinopis or Sinopitis. Some indication of the extent of Heracleotis is afforded by the fact that Xenophon

<sup>1</sup> *Anab.* VI.3-6. Dakyns' translation.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Robinson, *Ancient Sinope* p. 129.

and the troops under his command thought it worth while to take ship from Heracleia to the boundary between Heracleotis and Thrace. It is not unlikely that the territory of a colonial city was comparable in extent to that of a city state in Greece.

It may very well be that Cerasus, Cotyora and Trapezus were originally Sinopean depots, placed at suitable points on the coast for the assembling of the exports of the district, and differing only from the other depots in not having land communications with the mother city. Eventually they became cities with broad privileges of self government.

The Sinopeans maintained garrisons in these cities and collected tribute. Hecatonymus, the Sinopean envoy who met the Ten Thousand at Cotyora, claimed that they exacted tribute because they had wrested the land belonging to these cities from the barbarians. At this time, however, there is every indication that the natives in the immediate vicinity were on very friendly terms, with, if not dependent upon, the cities. The exact nature of the relationship was probably not narrowly defined. The Trapezuntians espoused the cause of those Colchians dwelling in the coastal plain (IV.8,24; V.2,2), and induced the Ten Thousand to refrain from plundering their villages. In the other cities also the Cyreians respected the friendly natives. Some of the more remote tribes also were friendly and were represented by Greek proxenoi who were familiar with the vernacular. These officials were no doubt chiefly commercial agents appointed to facilitate trade and commerce. Other tribes were openly hostile and the cities seized the opportunity of the presence of the Ten Thousand to punish their enemies. Thus the villages and stronghold of the Drilae were plundered by a division of the Cyreians guided by Trapezuntians (V.2,1). The military forces of the cities consisted of garrisons under the command of Sinopean harmosts (V.5, 20). The penteconter and triaconter borrowed from the Trapezuntians very likely belonged to naval forces employed in checking piracy.

In dealing with the barbarians the Greeks preferred to rely on diplomacy rather than military strength. It was always possible to weaken a group of natives by espousing the cause of a discon-

tented faction or tribe. Thus when the eastern section of the Mossynoeci denied a passage to the Ten Thousand the western section of the federation was induced by their proxenus at Trapezus to join in forcing a passage and regaining control of their federal stronghold. The result was that Trapezus maintained friendly relations with the controlling section of the group. The most serious threat to Sinope was the ambition of Corylas, the powerful Paphlagonian chief, to seize the city. But, in spite of occasional dangers of this kind, Hellenic colonial cities were rarely conquered by barbarians of the hinterland. When diplomacy and punitive expeditions failed they could still take refuge behind their fortifications and with open sea communications defy their enemies. The destruction of Amphipolis by the Thracians was a rare exception (Thucydides I.110). As a rule the natives seem to have welcomed the trade facilities afforded by the Greek colonies. When it was noised abroad that the Ten Thousand intended to colonize Calpe the natives sent representatives to negotiate a treaty (VI.6,4).

There is no information available as to the political condition of the natives. At Trapezus the Ten Thousand agreed to respect the property of friendly natives. The treaty was negotiated with the assistance of the Trapezuntians. There appear to have been native quarters in the cities.<sup>3</sup> There is no indication that the Greeks made any attempt to Hellenize the natives or interfere with their political organization. They continued to govern themselves on a tribal basis.

The limitations of the city state as a colonizing agency are manifest. The colonial cities could neither expand over large areas and absorb the natives nor weld themselves into large groups capable of making headway against the hostile native populations beyond their limited sphere of influence. Greek colonists were, in the main, coast dwellers.

<sup>3</sup> In Byzantium there was a level space without buildings called the "Thracian Quarter" large enough for the deployment of an army of six thousand (VII.1.24.). It seems likely that this valuable space within the fortifications was left unoccupied for the accommodation of natives who came to the city to trade. Here they could pitch their tents and keep their goods and chattels in safety.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### THE SIMILE OF THE VULTURES IN THE *ODYSSEY*

I have read Professor Scott's *Unity of Homer* with deep interest and with general agreement, but there are certain points in which he too easily accepts the Homeric picture. On page 127 he gives the description of the vultures as found in *Odyssey* xxii, 302. This description is wholly untrue to the Aegean world and to Anatolia in particular, since vultures never attack small birds and the latter have no terror of them. Vultures feed wholly on carion, and no man, not even a Greek, could look at them with delight; and modern Greeks find amusement in horrible things, but not in a vulture whose look is loathsome and food appalling as he covers himself with blood.

He that has seen vultures rush at smaller birds has never looked at nature. The reason of this passage must be that in some way Homer has in mind a different class of *accipitres*. I do not go further, but remember that in colors and the like the range of Greek words is very inadequate to the variety of nature, but "wine-colored sea" is literally true and very characteristic of the Aegean. At sunset calm, when the north wind has ceased and the south wind has not begun, the sea assumes much the appearance of wine.

The description of *αἰγυπῖος* in the *Odyssey* is otherwise far from true to the common vulture or to the smaller Egyptian vulture, which is common also.

The picture of the windswept sea in *Iliad*, N 798 is admirable, but oddly enough I have never seen it except with a north wind in early winter; then the description is superb. I quote this along with a poem by Alcman as one of the very few passages in Greek poetry where the beauty of nature is described, although terrifying and not pleasing to man.

WILLIAM M. RAMSAY

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## TRAGIC AND HOMERIC CRYPTOGRAMS

Under the heading *Joy-Riding in Homeric Criticism* Professor Bassett has published in a recent number of the *Classical Weekly* a most clever review of the attempts made by Professor Margoliouth to show that the introductions of Greek epics and dramas really are anagrams or cryptograms. I am tempted to send for publication in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL my own efforts to apply the methods of the anagram; for a great principle of criticism like a law in science, once discovered, conclusively proves itself by leading from one important discovery to another.

The famous drama named *Medea* has for centuries been falsely attributed to Euripides. It was written by another eminent hand. Take the first line in the Greek,

αἶθ' ὦφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτᾶσθαι σκάφος,

then seek for the tell-tale anagram. What emerges? What indeed, but

Μαργωλιούθος, σκαυὰ φάς, ἔφη τάδε.

Plainly the phrase, σκαυὰ φάς, literally "speaking left-handedly," indicates the anagram. Translate "Inverting words, M . . . th told this tale."

But this is not all. Let us look once more at the opening lines of the *Iliad*, and we can discover a secret which Mr. Margoliouth, all too shy, has hidden from us. The first verse is a blind and can be left alone; the real story is told by the second verse. What is that second verse?

οὐλομένην, ἣ μὲν Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν.

Now rewrite this verse under the influence of the anagram and we get the astounding result, the name at last of the real author of the *Iliad*:

ἀκλῆὰ μνείην ἦν Μαργωλιούθος ἔχευε.

"The inglorious memorial which Margoliouth poured forth." Inglorious indeed through three millennia: it has brought him no fame hitherto. How fortunate that he should still be with us to receive at last the homage of the ages.

*Onorate l'altissimo poeta!*

WALTER LEAF

LONDON, 6 Sussex Place, Regent's Park

### ORIGIN OF THE PHRASE "THE SO-CALLED HUMAN RACE"

Admirers of Bert Leston Taylor, better known as B. L. T., quote among his achievements the introduction of the apt expression quoted above. However Herodotus in Book III, 122 has the identical expression, ἡ ἀνθρωπότης λεγομένη γενεή. It may be that Mr. Taylor coined the phrase or he may have been quoting from a Greek original.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

### HITHER AND YONDER: PARALLELS A MODERN ILLUSTRATION OF THE BELIEF IN NEMESIS

Ancient ideas are loath to admit that they are dead. In describing the jewels and other wedding gifts showered upon a president's daughter, about which exaggerated stories had been spread, the author (authoress?) of *Boudoir Mirrors of Washington* (1923), p. 32, tells how the bride-elect was asked to give from her plenitude to various worthy causes and how some individuals made personal requests for duplications among the presents. In addition "A few anonymous epistles were sent with a hint of future peril, should she retain this abundance which had been thrust into her hands."

Anyone familiar with Greek and Latin literature can cite, or at least readily find, instance after instance of the belief that dangers attend wealth, prosperity and success. Familiar to all is the story that Polycrates threw a beautiful seal-ring into the sea in an effort to avert the danger menacing him because of his amazing good fortune (Herod., 3.39-43; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 37.3-4). In short, "all human destiny is full of the fear and the peril that good fortune may be followed by evil" (Soph., *Philoctetes*, 502-503 [Jebb's trans.]). *Quicquid fortuna exornat, cito contemnitur* (Publilius Syrus).

### ON 'HIGH' AND 'DEEP'

The use of *altus* in the sense of 'deep' is well established in Latin. From Nicomachus, *Introductio Arithmetica*, 2.13.1, we learn that in Greek the third dimension was called both 'height' and 'depth' (as well as 'thickness'.

An amusing illustration in English of a fairly close parallel to this usage has come to my attention. A small boy had liberty to help himself to apples stored in a barrel in the cellar of his home. When the supply was finally becoming exhausted, he remarked to his parents: "I can't reach them any more. They are too high down."

### THE COMPLEXION OF THE ACHAEANS

It is a familiar fact that the inhabitants of the shores and islands of the Mediterranean have a tendency to become swarthy in complexion and dark in hair, while the reverse holds true north of the Alps and especially in the basin of the Baltic.

In Homer the color of the hair of the Greeks is always mentioned as light, when that color is mentioned at all.

The complexion, inferred from the color of the hair, is given for but three of the Greeks who fought at Troy, and these three are the highly important Achilles, Menelaus, and Odysseus. They are always blondes, since the apparent exception in the case of Odysseus is no real exception. When that hero was changed by the magic of Athena from vigorous manhood to feeble old age, "The goddess withered the blond (*ξανθός*) locks upon his head." However when he was renewed in vigor by the wand of the goddess, "He became dark again, his cheeks were full and the beard on his face grew dark." Here editors have seen interpolation and contradiction, but I see nothing of the sort. His beard had been turned white, now it was restored to its former color, and even if that former color had been red or golden it would have been dark in contrast with the whiteness of old age. All that this passage, 176, is intended to show is the return from the whiteness of old age to the color of renewed and vigorous manhood.

Besides these three, Achilles, Menelaus, and Odysseus, the following characters are blonde: Meleager, Rhadamanthus, Agamemnon the daughter of Augeas, and the goddess Demeter.

The color of the hair of the beautiful Helen is never hinted, neither is that of Nausicaa nor of Penelope.

Hector had black hair, X 401, and he is the only warrior on either side whose hair was said to be dark. It is impossible from this single passage to argue that this marks a racial difference between the Trojans and the Achaeans.

Poseidon is repeatedly the "dark-haired"; hence the argument that he represents an original Mediterranean divinity; but when Zeus nods, it is with "dark eye-brows," and Hera's brows are of a like color. Zeus, the dark-browed, was father of the fair Rhadamanthus, thus proving that the complexion is not entirely a matter of race.

If the Achaeans were a light-haired race and this color was a matter of racial pride, it seems strange that their chief divinities should have been dark. The reason for calling Demeter golden is simple, for she was the divinity of golden harvests, and she is the only divine being thus named in Homer. It is a striking fact that no Greek is said to have had dark hair and no Trojan, light hair; also that the three powerful deities, Zeus, Hera, and Poseidon, should have been dark.

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#### UNDE HOMINUM GENUS

In Hartland's *Primitive Paternity*, I: 41-43, there are many illustrations of the answers given to children who wish to know where their little brothers and sisters came from. They are told that babies come from trees, fruits, vegetables and plants. Among the trees mentioned in this kind of lore are the beech, the lime, the oak and the ash.

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 145, tells us that man sprang from the ash. The Dryopes were 'Oakmen.' In the *Aeneid*, 8.313, Vergil writes: *Gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata* (Cf. Juv., 6.12). This tradition was firmly established in Homeric days, for occasion is taken in the *Odyssey*, 19.163, to deny its accuracy. Much similar material attributing the origin of man to earth, to water, to earth and water mixed, and even to stones, may be found in Bouché-Leclercq, *Placita Graecorum de Origine Generis Humani*.

The modern stories which say that children came from beds of cabbage and parsley (Hartland, *loc. cit.*) are pretty closely paralleled by the Athenian legend that man originally grew out of the earth like cabbage (Lucian, *Philops.*, 3), and also by the statement of Empedocles (quoted by Varro, *ap. Non.*, p. 550) that children were born from the earth like spinach.

The explanations given to modern children are of the same char-

acter as the serious theories proposed by adults some two or three thousand years nearer to the childhood of the race to account for the origin of man. It would seem that they are a part of our Aryan heritage, and that, with a slightly different application, they were relegated to children when man himself had outgrown them.

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### ON PAUSANIAS' BATTLE WITH THRASYBULUS

Beloch, in the last edition of his *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. III, part I, pp. 11 and 12, speaks of this battle as follows: "Bei Gelegenheit einer Rekognoszierung kam es zum Kampfe, und wie es nicht anders zu erwarten stand, wurde die Demokraten *völlig (italics mine)* geschlagen. *Jetzt (italics mine)* war Thrasybulos zu unterhandeln bereit . . . ." The italicized words point to the two objections I should like to make.

Though Beloch does not give his source, yet it seems safe to assume that it is Xenophon, *Hellen.* II.2.31-35. Pausanias, according to Xenophon's account, made a sham attack upon Thrasybulus and his band of exiles, in order that it might not become evident that he was well-disposed towards them. (§31). Furthermore, when the fighting was over and Pausanias had raised a trophy, he bore no ill-will toward the exiles, but encouraged them to send ambassadors and even suggested what they might ask of him and the ephors (§35). In view of these facts, it is hardly probable that the Spartan king would have permitted a decisive defeat to be inflicted upon the exiles. Concerning the actual battle, Xenophon informs us that Pausanias made the attack, but accomplished nothing. On the next day he took with him three squadrons of Athenian horsemen and two morae of Lacedaemonian infantry to reconnoitre the Piraeus. Upon their return, Thrasybulus assumed the offensive and finally succeeded in forcing them to withdraw to a distance of four or five stadia. In this encounter the Lacedaemonians lost their polemarchs, Chaeron and Thibrachus. Thereupon Pausanias drew up both the Lacedaemonians and their allies and led them against the Athenians, who accepted the battle, but were finally forced to retire with a loss of about 150 men. Such is the account of Xenophon. It is clear, therefore, that neither antecedent probability nor the testimony of facts



allows us to assume that the exiles were completely defeated (*völlig geschlagen*).

I grant that at the outset of their enterprise, Thrasybulus and his followers were not disposed to negotiate with Pausanias or any other mediator, with a view to reaching an agreement with the hated Thirty and their adherents. At Phyle, at any rate, Anytus urged the exiles to restrain themselves for the present, for there would be an opportunity for revenge upon their oppressors after their own return to the city (Lys. XIII.78). Subsequent to the battle with the Thirty, however, the exiles tempered their wrath toward the city party, for they did not despoil the slain of their clothing (Xenoph. *Hellen*, II. 4. 19), and, during the truce, Kleokritus assured the city party that they, the exiles, shared equally with them the grief for their dead (Xenoph. *Hellen*. II.4.22). It is evident, therefore, that the exiles had renounced their wrath against the city party generally, even before Pausanias set out on his expedition. It was not the battle between Pausanias and Thrasybulus that made the latter disposed to negotiate.

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## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly new—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

### Illinois

*Alton.*—The following account of the activities of the Classical Club of Shurtleff College has come in.

"Our program presented two aspects of the Classics, the artistic and the practical. A Classical Dance, Living Statues, and Musical Readings from the verse of Lucretius and Horace contributed to the former. The practical numbers included Leaves from the Bulletin Board, a dialogue 'What's the Use' which appeared in a recent number of the JOURNAL and an informal address by Professor Charles Chandler.

"Professor Chandler was a professor in Classics at the University of Chicago when it was founded. He is now retired and living near our campus. Wide reading is keeping alive his vital interest in the march of the Classics. In his address he stressed the fundamental importance of Latin in the English language and drew illustrations from the Declaration of Independence and the preamble to our Constitution.

"The program was received with a great deal of appreciation and the composition of the programs themselves attracted no little attention. Onion paper was pasted at either end on small rounded sticks and the printing was done by hand in capitals. When tied they were miniature imitations of the Roman scrolls.

"A novel feature at a recent meeting of our club was a conversation between the ghosts of Cicero, Horace, and Lucretius. Each made comments, humorous and otherwise, on the chief events of his life and on the changes that he found in our present day life."

#### Indiana

*Martinsville.* — Over fifty per cent of the pupils in the junior and senior high schools here are enrolled as Latin students, although excellent courses are also offered along vocational lines. The interesting work of the Latin club under Miss Lillian Hart's direction suggests that Latin is made a real and vital matter to these classes. In October, the club reports discussions of Roman auguries, two playlets, music, and fortune telling by soothsayers; in November, a more serious program on the Latin element in the English language, and a pageant, "Mother Lingua;" in December, a celebration of the Saturnalia with guests in Roman garb, a procession of classic myth characters in costume with interpretive song and dance. This Saturnalian program even included a mock battle of Amazons, a gladiatorial combat and representations of three of the famous labors of Hercules. Caesar, Cicero, and Virgil also appeared in person with effective dramatic presentation. Then followed a classic dance styled, "Greek Girls Playing Ball," given by girls in gay Greek costume with large gold and silver balls. Next came a Roman chariot race with girls as steeds, a drill of Vestal Virgins, a Sibyl and a chorus of thirty white-robed girls bearing lighted candles and singing Christmas carols in Latin. The end of this truly Hilara Saturnalia was not made until after the distribution of baskets of candies and the exchange of gifts. The January meeting brought Stunt Night, February a Valentine meeting, and at the end of the year there is to be a Roman banquet in honor of the seniors. In class work, this Latin department seeks to devote more and more time to the development of English vocabulary through the study of Latin.

#### Iowa

*Des Moines.* — At the recent meeting of the State Teachers' Association the Latin Round Table was presided over by Miss Maisy Schreiner of Des Moines. Miss Lillian Lawler, University of Iowa, gave a report of an extended study she has made tending to show how a mastery of Latin may be a very valuable aid in English spelling. Miss Julia Padmore read a witty and suggestive paper on Latin teaching in the concrete. The principal speaker was Professor A. T.

Walker of the University of Kansas, who spoke on the recent Classical Investigation. He spoke along practical lines and emphasized the importance of sticking to Latin in the Latin classes. His talk was enthusiastically received by teachers who do not find time to teach everything in Roman life and history to high school pupils. A new and delightful feature of the meeting was an informal luncheon which preceded it.

#### Maine

*Waterville.* — To the members of the Junior High School of Waterville the night of November 21 was a memorable occasion, when the large auditorium was filled to overflowing by eager friends who flocked to show their interest in the Latin Club. The entertainment was staged under the auspices of the Latin department and under the general supervision of Mrs. Alice Osgood. The main feature of the entertainment was the six-reel motion picture, "The Last Days of Pompeii."

The stage was beautifully decorated with evergreens, interwoven on lattices and adorned with artificial roses and rose buds. Two arches were placed at the ends of the stage and trellises were placed at the sides of the windows. At the front of the stage loops of crepe paper completed the artistic scene of an old fashioned rose garden, which was certainly a great credit to the pupils who designed it.

The program was given as follows: Chorus, (a) Santa Lucia; (b) *Adeste Fideles*; 2, moving picture, "New Wine from Old Bottles;" 3, "Dance of the Goddesses;" A, Dawn; B, The Hours; C, Night; 4, motion picture, "The Last Days of Pompeii."

The Dance of the Goddesses which was staged under the direction of Miss Margaret Smith, dancing instructress, was a huge success and was appreciated greatly by the audience.

#### Massachusetts

*Mount Holyoke.* — *The Rudens* of Plautus was given at Mount Holyoke College in May of 1924. It was altogether a most successful and enjoyable performance. The spirit with which the Latin lines were given and the memorizing of those lines called forth much admiration. Even those quite unfamiliar with the play or with Latin were highly entertained and could easily follow the play.

The curtain for the background of the street, with a beautiful Greek temple, as well as the costumes, were the work of members of the college and almost exclusively of the Latin department. It was

felt that all the effort and time spent brought forth excellent results and that the giving of the play was thoroughly worth while.

#### Missouri

*St. Joseph.* — The *Societas Romana* of the Benton High School on January 2nd produced Miss Paxon's "Roman Wedding." The play was presented at the regular assembly period, and the Latin pupils who made up the cast acquitted themselves with much credit. New interest was awakened in the Latin work of the school, and the audience was much impressed by the discovery of how well students could learn and fluently speak so much Latin.

#### Ohio

*Cincinnati.* — The City of Cincinnati has just appropriated one million dollars, and perhaps more, for erecting a building for the six-year classical high school.

The Faculty of the University of Cincinnati has voted to require all freshmen to take a course either in Latin or in Mathematics.

#### Texas

*Dallas.* — Excellence on the part of the high school students of Latin is receiving extraordinary encouragement in the Lone Star State. Last spring a very successful "Latin Tournament" was held at Dallas, in which all Northeast Texas competed in a great variety of "events" for honors in Latin training and prizes for excellence. This year Texas will have four such tournaments — at Houston, Fort Worth, San Antonio, and Waco. Each school in Texas may send two representatives from each of its four Latin classes to compete in these great games — ten scheduled Latin contests at each place. Competition is keen, and rivalry is as intense for a Latin victory as it is for a football victory.

Prizes are arranged for teams winning honors for their class, for teams winning honors for their school, and for individuals displaying the best knowledge of Latin. Individual rivalry is intensified by the generosity of Mr. R. S. Sterling of Houston, who offers for the high school senior winning the first place as a Latinist a year at the University of Texas with all expenses paid.

The Classical Association of Texas is sponsor for the Tournaments and through them is making Latin the liveliest subject in the schools of the state and rendering the finest training of brain and character even more interesting to the young people than prowess on the gridiron.



## Hints for Teachers

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By B. L. ULLMAN  
University of Iowa

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[The aim of this department is to furnish high school teachers of Latin with material which be of direct and immediate help to them in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be published in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published if they seem useful to others.]

### Latin for English

A newspaper man writing in *The Nation* (Jan. 28, 1925) tells of his determination to study Latin and Greek as an aid in his work. He says:

The theory was that nearly a decade of writing for daily newspapers had worn off the edges of my words, and that hand-to-hand grappling with ancient and beautiful words would restore these edges. I should become conscious again, or perhaps for the first time, of the individual word. As a journalist I thought in terms of whole columns. Never was I able to stop one paragraph, sentence, word, commune with it closely, ask it what it signified, where it came from, where it was going. Acres of words, but never the Word, the acridly individualized etymological personality, giving forth a ringing sound, an echo, a long murmur.

I had turned to Pater, to Milton, to free verse. In all these there was something of what I sought. Here were words used individually, which were not merely parts of an agglutinated mass. But still I was not satisfied. There must be something tougher into which I could set my teeth. There must be bayonet fighting with individual words.

### Parallels

Even Walt Mason has gone back to the Classics and has found inspiration for his prose verse in Cato's famous speech about the women:

When Cato, the censor, reared up for a speech, the crowds growing denser, pronounced him a peach. His presence was stately, his voice like a lute, men

cheered for him greatly, no catcall or hoot. "He stacks like a lion in eloquent fray, he's better than Bryan," the Romans would say. This Cato, undaunted, selected his theme; he'd jump, when he wanted, on any old scheme. "Our law-makers blundered, they pulled dizzy games, in giving," he thundered, "such freedom to dames. Once women were making good homes for us guys, they spent their time baking their gooseberry pies. They mended our sandals, our togas they sewed, and peddled small scandals in every abode. Then women were modest, a credit to Rome, ambitions the broadest were centered in home. But now they are chasing in office and mart, good voters displacing and breaking my heart. Their bearing is mannish, to brawn they aspire, determined to banish the charms we admire. Oh, Romans, I tremble and view with alarm, when women assemble, the taxes to farm. Our bulwarks are slipping—I tremble again—when women are gripping the snaps made for men." Today men are crying the things Cato said, and he has been lying two thousand years dead. No problems are modern; there's nothing that's new; as Cato was dodder'n, still dodder a few.

### Scansion of Virgil

Professor Samuel J. Pease of the Kansas State Teachers College at Pittsburg, Kansas, sends the following special help for scanning Virgil:

1. Begin at the end of the line, where word-accent and verse ictus coincide for two or three feet. In Book I the only exceptions are lines 65, 105, 151 which end in a monosyllable, and 323 and 448 in which *que* is elided on to the next line.
2. The first syllable of the line is always long; if either the second or the third syllable of the line is known to be short, the first foot is a dactyl; if either is known to be long, the first foot is a spondee.
3. You now have given the first (hence the beginning of the second), perhaps the fourth, certainly the fifth and sixth feet; fill in the center of the line.

### Value of the Classics

Harry Emerson Fosdick, in one of his recent books (*The Modern Use of the Bible*) writes as follows:

He (a man) must see that many of our ways of thinking are very new; that they, too, are transient, and that many of them will soon be as outmoded as our forefathers' categories are. He must see that just because our ways of thinking are new, the garnered riches of the world's thought have been stored up for us in other forms of thought than ours and in other ways of speaking. If he sees this clearly he will see also what a pitifully provincial life a man must live whose appreciations are shut up to that truth only which is expressed in modern terms. Such a man is a prisoner in the thought-forms of the present age. He cannot get out of that narrow world. He is robbed of all the treasures of spiritual life which were amassed before our modern age came in and therefore were of necessity stored in other mental receptacles than ours.

A man of catholic culture should know how to be at home in all ages, to appreciate wisdom and spiritual quality in all forms of thought; he should drink the water of life from Greek vases and Jewish water jars as well as from modern faucets, and whoever lacks such culture robs himself of his racial inheritance of experience and truth. This, I take it, is one of the chief accusations against our fresh, young intellectual life in religion and elsewhere. Many of us who call ourselves liberal are not liberal; we are narrow rather, with that most fatal bigotry of all. We can understand nothing except contemporary thought.

#### How to Make Latin Appear Necessary to the Pupil

Under this head, Mr. E. Q. Hawk of the Bristol, Tenn., High School, writes:

I require each pupil in first year Latin to make a booklet entitled, "The Relation of Latin to Our Life." In this booklet I require the following things to be put.

1. Fifty Latin words and their English derivatives.
2. A short essay by the pupil on some phase of Roman life similar to our own.
3. The booklet is illustrated with five commercial advertisements referring to Roman history or classical mythology.
4. A signed letter from some business or professional man whom the pupil knows, stating his attitude toward Latin and his reason for it.

The fourth plan succeeded very well. The leading men of the city were solicited, and all of them wrote excellent letters which lent importance to Latin when they were read in class.

#### Latin Newspapers

At the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Iowa City in April, files of all newspapers on hand will be exhibited. Additions to our list are:

*Fragmenta Latina*, Central High School, Fort Wayne, Ind. Latin and English; printed; 4 pp. Miss Gertrude Beierlein, Faculty Advisor.

*Caesarion*, Hobart, Okla., Senior High School. Latin and English; mimeographed; monthly; 3 pp.; Miss Geneva Kline, teacher.

*The Roanoke Roman*, Jefferson High School, Roanoke, Va. Latin and English; printed; monthly; 5 cents each; 4 pp. Miss Sallie Lovelace, teacher.

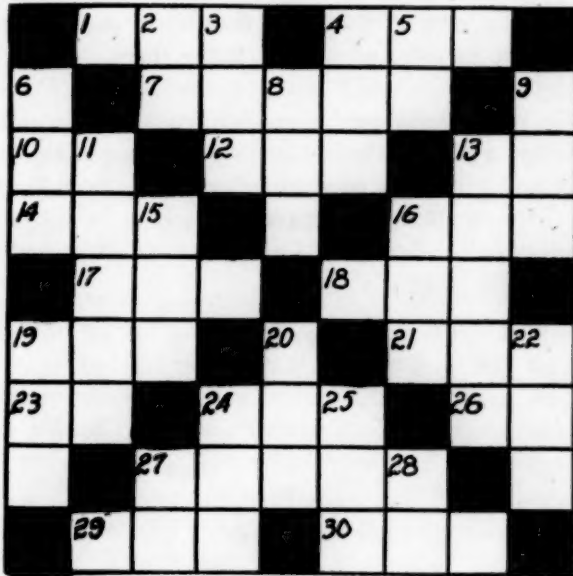
#### Correspondence in Latin

The following schools wish to correspond with other schools. Countries are indicated.

Latin Club, Kidd-Key College, Sherman, Texas (Mrs. J. Coleman Jones, teacher). United States, France, Italy, Spain, Brazil.

Henderson, Texas, High School (Fay Shaw, teacher). United States and foreign countries.

Virgil class, Troy, Kansas, Rural High School (Fay Trantham, teacher).



#### Crossword Puzzles

The puzzle published in the February number was to have been published in January. As I write this, several days before the appearance of the February number, I find myself swamped with puzzles received during the last two months. They come from ten year olds and from famous college professors and deans. Another deluge will come by the time this appears in print. I say this for two reasons: to show that this department of the JOURNAL tried to publish the first Latin crossword puzzles, and to prove how wide-awake our Latin teachers are. Time was when the charge was made, perhaps with some justice, that Latin teachers were slow in responding to educational developments. Nowadays they take the lead.

A book of Latin crossword puzzles has been published by Allyn and Bacon, which I have not yet seen. The Macmillan Company is getting out several puzzles for advertising purposes. A supplement to *Latin Notes* (No. 8) contains several crossword puzzles, as do various school papers. Claims have been made, some of them in

print, that this person or that was the first to use such Latin puzzles. That question can, I fear, never be settled.

A number of puzzles have come in without keys. Readers will appreciate that, in view of the great number of puzzles received, I have not the time to solve as well as judge them. Keys should be in diagram form.

In judging the puzzles one is confronted with the difficulty of deciding whether a puzzle is to be rated high on its general merit or on its simplicity and suitability for high school use. Both kinds will be published. This month's is a simple one. It is by Elizabeth Ann Mills, ten years old, a first year Latin pupil (eighth grade) of the Bentley School, Berkeley, California.

## HORIZONTAL

- |             |                                 |                   |
|-------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. You give | 14. So many                     | 23. He            |
| 4. Sun      | 16. So                          | 24. Twice         |
| 7. Good     | 17. Expecting a negative answer | 26. Me            |
| 10. From    | 18. But                         | 27. You drive out |
| 12. Lion    | 19. Way                         | 29. Ox            |
| 13. She     | 21. Thing (acc.)                | 30. Snow          |

## VERTICAL

- |                            |                          |             |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| 2. From                    | 9. Already               | 22. My      |
| 3. Sun                     | 11. Good ( <i>abl.</i> ) | 24. Twice   |
| 4. Ablative of <i>suus</i> | 15. Your                 | 25. But if  |
| 5. Bone                    | 16. Three times          | 27. By this |
| 6. He gives                | 19. Power                | 28. If      |
| 8. Nor                     | 20. This                 |             |

## ANSWERS TO LAST MONTH'S PUZZLE





## Book Reviews

*English-Greek and Greek-English Dictionary.* Compiled by CARROLL N. BROWN. New York: The Enosis Publishing Co., 140 W. 26th St. \$3.00.

*A Handbook of the Modern Greek Spoken Language.* By K. PETRARIS. New York: The G. E. Stechert Co., 31 E. 10th St. \$1.50.

Carroll N. Brown, associate professor of Greek and Latin in the College of the City of New York, is the compiler and editor of a new lexicon. This is a small, handy volume of 938 pages, attractively bound in half-leather, with an alphabetical index, and would be classed as a pocket dictionary, although it is of greater thickness. It contains approximately 20,000 words rendered into popular modern Greek and a like number of modern Greek words translated into English. The definitions given in both languages are thorough and accurate. There is no doubt, in the opinion of this reviewer, that Professor Brown has edited an invaluable handbook primarily for the Greek-speaking person who embarks upon the study of the English language. It is none the less useful and adequate for that rare individual, the student of contemporary Greek, inasmuch as the compiler is an accomplished Neohellenist and an experienced teacher. His knowledge of modern Greece and his not infrequent application of his knowledge of her spoken language, qualify him for just such a task, while his preface is not without feeling for those "who are the true-born sons of Hellas and whose hearts ought to be stirred by the *glory that was Greece* in a way quite different from that in which it affects those who are merely philhellenes or Hellenists."

A distinctive feature of this lexicon is the editor's faithful rendition of the pronunciation of the English words in Greek letters and his use of a great number of legitimate, vernacular Greek words. Most of the compilers of English-Modern Greek dictionaries have been highly unsympathetic to the demotic school of language, which is now the nearly dominant one in modern Greek intellectual activities with the exception of political writing. To give only a solitary instance, especially for tourists and students of Greek archaeology,

Mr. Brown does not translate WATER into ΥΑΝΡ, but into ΝΕΡΟ. There is a synopsis of English grammar, an appendix giving the names of the states and cities of this country with their population, as well as lists of abbreviations and of foreign phrases met with in English.

There are those who may disagree with his opinion that the Greek of today would pronounce ΙΟΥΘ as YOUTH and ΟΥΟΡΚ as WORK; in fact, this writer does disagree. ΓΙΟΥΘ and ΓΟΥΟΡΚ, to choose only two examples, should have been preferred. The initial modern Greek ΙΟΤΑ is purely vocal, and, when after years it becomes devocalized when followed by another vowel, as in the word ΙΑΤΡΟΣ, it invariably invites a gamma before it.

So much in brief of the compiler. The publishers, commended as they should be for the paper used and the typographical merits shown, should have used the heavy type in the second part also, since this dictionary is clearly a very good one for the learner of Modern Greek.

One other little book that deserves to be brought to the notice of the readers of the JOURNAL, is that of Petraris. It is really a modern Greek grammar. It was written and published in German, the author being a member of the demotic group, and was translated into English by W. H. D. Rouse, of the Perse School, Cambridge, England. Aside from trivial paroramata the work is praiseworthy, while the exercises and vocabulary have been wisely chosen.

NEW YORK CITY

GEORGE SARANTON

*The Villas of Pliny the Younger.* By HELEN H. TANZER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. xxii+152 pp., 8vo, 56 plates. \$2.50.

Miss Tanzer has given us a very useful and agreeable volume. The important part of it consists of excellent process-reproductions of plans and perspective sketches of Pliny's Laurentine and Tuscan villas. These reconstructions date all the way from the late seventeenth century to the present day and essays of the author herself. Of course no two of them have any especial family resemblance one to the other. Nothing could make it more plain that Pliny could not have meant to enable his reader to reproduce from the verbal descriptions the very image of the reality. He was rather concerned to create in the minds of Gallus and Apollinaris what literature is able to effect, a sense of the spacious freedom and varied charm of the

respective country-seats, without touching at all on such questions of bald feet and inches as pertain to the architect.

The author acknowledges in her preface a rather lavish amount of professional counsel and assistance. It is a pity that some one of these many kind friends could not have cast a critical eye over her translations of the two of Pliny's letters concerned (ii. 17 and v. 6). The plain errors and wilful perversities of her rendering are very many in number and positively sinful in character. With pains, understanding, and taste one may command smooth and pretty phrases and yet say what Pliny says and not something different. Let me call attention to a sample few of such things as I mean. Pliny tells his friend that the seaside villa might be called either Laurentinum or Laurens; but this playful allusion to certain disputed niceties of speech the translator feels justified in leaving out altogether. Pliny did not tell his friend, as the translator does, that the shore on which the estate faced was that "of the Mediterranean." Why should he? What other sea bordered the Laurentine territory, or lay within the already specified seventeen miles from Rome? But he does mention, as his translator does not, the wide sweep of the sea-frontage. Pliny does not say, as the translator does, that the site is near enough to Rome "to let one attend to his affairs and still have a good part of the day to spend at the villa": he says that he can complete a full day's work in the city and yet spend the night at the villa. He does not report the Laurentine and Ostian roads as sandy even a part of the way. They were, of course, paved. He describes route is here hemmed in by encroaching woodlands, there broadens as sandy the branch roads only. Pliny paints the scenery along these byways in more precise form than his translator is willing to permit. He does not say merely "woods and broad fields": he says, "The out into sweeping prairies." Of course he does not call the wide extent of the Campagna a "valley." The villa, he remarks, is not expensive in upkeep: that is not the same thing as "by no means palatial," which is Miss Tanzer's phrase. I do not think Pliny would call his dining-room "very nice": that is a somewhat too feminine touch for *satis pulchrum*. Nor is this dining-room "washed by the waves" whenever the wind is southwest: Pliny tells us that then the waves, as they sweep up the sands with declining volume and force, just lap the foundations of the dining-room. Evidently in ordinary weather there was space to walk on the beach between the house and

the water. Pliny does not say that the portion of the structure set apart for the quarters of slaves and freedmen is "large enough to accommodate guests when they come to stay" (this last clause is a gratuitous addition by Miss Tanzer): what Pliny does say is that many of these rooms for his slaves and freedmen are fine enough even for the use of guests. But there is nothing to intimate that the master ever lodged his guests therein. Pliny speaks of a certain gallery as *prope publici operis*, referring of course to its large size; Miss Tanzer translates, "which is used by everybody in the house" (what a democratic community!). She also understands Pliny to assert that this gallery "breaks" not only the northeast and southwest winds, but also "whatever others blow from any direction." That sort of a universal yet linear windbreak would indeed be a marvel! Of course what Pliny says is that the gallery offers this protection from either of two directly opposite (*diuersissimos*) winds, Aquilo and Africus, according to the side of the gallery on which the observer stands. The translator represents Pliny as signing his letter, "Yours with love, Secundus." This also of course has nothing at all to represent it in the original, and adds another feminine touch to the vocabulary. As to the form otherwise, it might be a question whether Pliny would have subscribed himself "Secundus." His intimates, to be sure, addressed him thus; so did the consul even in the senate, and the emperor Trajan in his letters. But would Pliny himself thus speak of himself otherwise than in quotation? In a letter to Tacitus, for example, one of his most cherished friends, he speaks of himself as "Plinius." I suspect that at any rate he would not sign himself with the familiar "Secundus" in a letter as little informal in style as this.

But enough of these errors and infelicities. They could unhappily be multiplied tenfold from Miss Tanzer's translation of just these two letters. A single additional example and I am done. Near the end of v. 6 Pliny writes that his Tuscan villa is such a healthful place that he has never lost there by death a single member of his household, *uenia sit dicto!* Miss Tanzer translates this last clause, "If you will pardon my mentioning it." Why should Pliny apologize to his correspondent for such a remark? Of course the phrase is instead simply the customary deprecation addressed to Nemesis in order to ward off the possible penalty for boastfulness.

E. T. M.

## Recent Books

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- Aristophanes.* With the English translation of B. B. Rogers. Three volumes (Loeb Classical Library). London: Heinemann. Pp. 571, 449, 477. 10s.
- Aristotle, Works.* Translation into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross. Volume II. London: Milford. 15s.
- Augustine. De Civitate Dei contra Paganos.* Edited with introduction and appendices by J. E. C. Welldon. Two volumes. London: S. P. C. K. Pp. 572, 711. Set, 42s.
- BRYANT, E. E. *A Short History of Rome*, for schools. Second edition, enlarged. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 313. 6s.
- Catullus.* Translated by Sir William Morris, with the Latin text. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 170. \$1.70.
- DE RIDDER, A. and DEONNA, W. *L'Art en Grece* (L'Evolution de l'Humanité). Paris Renaissance du Livre. 20 fr.
- Dio, Roman History.* With an English translation by Earnest Cary on the basis of the version of Herbert Baldwin Foster. Volume 7 (Loeb Classical Library). London: Heinemann. Pp. 455. 10s.
- ELLABY, C. G. *Rome.* With 38 illustrations by B. C. Boulter and from photos. Map. Second edition, revised (Little Guides). London: Methuen. Pp. 312. 5s.
- FAIRWEATHER, WILLIAM. *Jesus and the Greeks*, or Early Christianity in the Tideway of Hellenism. London: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 423. 12s.
- FRANK, TENNEY. *Romans Building of the Republic*; an attempt to date them from their materials (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume 3). New York: American Academy in Rome. Pp. 149. \$2.50.
- GLORZ, G. *La Civilization égéenne.* (La'Evolution de l'Humanité). Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. Pp. 471. 15 fr.
- HAMILTON, MARY A. and BLUNT, A. W. F. *An Outline of Ancient History to 180 A. D.* Illustrated. London: Milford. Pp. 250. 3s.



- Hermetica.* The ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. With English translation and notes by Walter Scott, in four volumes. Volume I. London: Milford. 30s.
- Herodotus.* *The Famous Hystory of Herodotus.* Translated into English by B. R., anno 1584. With introduction by Leonard Whibley. Limited Edition (Tudor Translations). London: Constable. Pp. 276. 25s.
- Homer, Iliad.* With an English translation by A. T. Murray (Loeb Classical Library). London: Heinmann. Pp. 597. 10s.
- Homer. Odyssey.* A line for line Translation in the metre of the original by H. B. Cotterill. Cheaper Edition. London: Harrap. 7s, 6d.
- JARDÉ, A. *La Formation du Peuple Grec* (L'Evolution de l'Humanité). Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. Pp. 425. 15 fr.
- MCDANIEL, W. B. *Roman Private Life and its Survivals* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome). Boston: Marshall Jones. Pp. 215. \$1.50.
- Martial. Epigrams.* Translations and Imitations by A. L. Francis and H. F. Tatum. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 253. 7s, 6d.
- MILNE, J. G. *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule.* Illustrated. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Methuen. Pp. 189. 12s.
- The Pastoral Loves of Daphnis and Chloe.* Done into English by George Moore. Edition limited to 1250 numbered and signed copies. London: Heinemann. Pp. 168. 42s.
- ROBINSON, D. M. *Sappho and her Influence* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome). Boston: Marshall Jones. Pp. 284. \$1.50.
- Strabo. Geography.* With an English translation by H. L. Jones. Volume III (Loeb Classical Library). London: Heinmann. Pp. 403. 10s.
- Virgil. The Georgics,* partly in the original and partly in translation. Edited by John Sargeaunt and T. F. Royds (Clarendon Latin and Greek Series). New York: Oxford. Pp. 148. \$ .90.
- WENLEY, R. M. *Stoicism and its Influence* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome). Boston: Marshall Jones. Pp. 205. \$1.50.
- WOODHOUSE, S. C. *The Englishman's Pocket Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary.* London: Routledge. Pp. 495. 3s.